

Longmans' Class-Books of English Literature



MACAULAY'S
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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BORNE'S "UTOPIA," ETC., ETC.

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Examine



LORD MACAULAY.¹

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY was born at Rothley Temple, near Leicester (the home of his uncle, Thomas Babington), on St. Crispin's Day (25th October), 1800.

He was fortunate in many things but in nothing more than in his parents. His father, Zachary, was the son and grandson of Presbyterian ministers who, in lonely Highland manses, had cultivated literature on a little oatmeal. By residence in Jamaica he had learnt what slavery really meant, and the knowledge made him the most persistent opponent of a system which tended to reduce the masters to the level of the brute and to keep the slaves from rising above it. For forty years he devoted most of his time and thought, courage, will, and energy to the service of the negro. "In that service he sacrificed all that man may lawfully sacrifice—health, fortune, repose, favour, and celebrity."² His house at Clapham was the resort of the Abolitionists³—of Henry Thornton, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharpe—and those who breathed its bracing moral atmosphere acquired, unconsciously, consideration for the rights and interests of others and hatred for whatever was mean and selfish.

Macaulay's mother, Selina Mills, came from a Quaker stock, and possessed in full measure the Quaker virtues—

¹ The standard biography is *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by his nephew, Sir George Otto Trevelyan.

² Sir James Stephen in *The Edinburgh Review*.

³ *The Abolitionists*: those members of Parliament and their friends who were anxious to abolish slavery with all its horrors.

serenity, reticence, and sweet reasonableness. Under less wise guidance a child so richly endowed as her first-born would have developed conceit and arrogance; but she, while noting with silent satisfaction every sign of precocity and genius, never let him suspect that she knew his powers to be more than ordinary.

He could read almost as soon as he could speak, and write almost as soon as he could read. At seven he composed a Compendium of Universal History ("and he really contrived to give a tolerably connected view of the leading events from the creation to the present time," says the pleased mother). Before he was eight, fired by Scott's *Lay* and *Marmion*, he began a poem on the Battle of Cheviot, and left off only to begin an epic on Olaus the Great, the mythical ancestor of the Aulays.

After attending for some years a day school kept by Mr. Greaves at Clapham, Macaulay was sent in 1812 to a boarding school kept by Mr. Preston,¹ first at Little Shelford near Cambridge, and afterwards at Aspenden Hall in Hertfordshire. His memory was then and ever remained prodigious. He seemed to take in the meaning of a printed page at a glance, and seemed incapable of forgetting whatever struck his attention. He used to say that if all the copies of *Paradise Lost* and *Pilgrim's Progress* were destroyed he would undertake to reproduce the text from recollection.

In October, 1818, Macaulay went into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, thenceforward next to his home the dearest spot on earth to him. As his diligence was exemplary a brilliant career might have been predicted for him, but a retentive memory was not the first condition of success in Cambridge's most characteristic study. Even he could not find words to express his loathing for Mathematics, which

¹"Not to name the school or the masters of men illustrious for literature is a kind of historical fraud by which honest fame is injuriously diminished."—*Dr. Johnson*.

gave him a daily headache without giving him "one practical truth or beautiful image in return". And though he loved the Classics his exercises lacked the technical perfection achieved by boys who had been trained at the public schools. He therefore did not graduate with honours, although he won certain prizes and was in 1824 elected a Fellow of Trinity.

When Macaulay went to college he did not suppose that he would ever be compelled to earn a living, because his father was then a wealthy man. But while Zachary had been trying to save the negroes his partner had succeeded in ruining his business. Hence the fellowship, ensuring an almost sufficient income for seven years, came most opportunely.

After leaving the University Macaulay read law, but, though he was called to the bar, he never obtained, and apparently never desired to obtain, any briefs. His interests were centred in politics and literature. When he was a boy at school his father and he used to exchange long letters on the questions of the day. Soon after going up to Cambridge he rushed into the thick of an election riot. His ardour was cooled by a dead cat received full in the face. The man who had thrown the beast apologised effusively, saying that it had been meant for Mr. Adeane. "I wish," replied Macaulay, "that you had meant it for me and hit Mr. Adeane."

In the eyes of Zachary Macaulay and his friends the reading of novels was always a folly and sometimes a sin. To *The Christian Observer*, the organ of the "Clapham Sect," as they were called, Macaulay, while still at school, sent an anonymous letter defending the practice. The editor had the candour to insert it, though he did not know that what he was thus publishing had been written by his own son.

In 1823 and 1824 that son wrote a series of bright articles for a magazine started by Charles Knight, the pioneer of

cheap press, but these were thrown into the shade by the brilliance of the article on Milton which appeared in *The Edinburgh Review* for August, 1825. The success of this was startling, and subsequent articles in the same quarterly during the next seventeen years served only to increase the writer's fame.

In 1843, pirated editions of the articles having been issued in America, Macaulay consented to their being reprinted in England, although he states in the Preface that but for the piracy he would have refused "to let them appear in a form which might seem to indicate that he thought them worthy of a permanent place in English literature". That the public thought them worthy is proved by the unnumbered editions since issued and the innumerable copies sold.

Still the reluctance of Macaulay was justified, for, though the Essays have added vastly to his reputation with the general reader, they have laid him open to the censure of critics who condemn as literature what was written as journalism. *The Edinburgh Review* was established to promote the interests not of the Muses but of the Whigs. A party journalist is expected to express himself not with the coolness of a judge but with the warmth of an advocate, and every journalist aims at so presenting his case as to arrest the attention, convince the understanding, and impress the memory. Hence, while the origin of the Essays explains their clearness, vigour, antithesis, and epigram, it explains also their occasional lack of balance, exaggeration of statement, excess of ornament, and party bias.

In 1828 Lord Lyndhurst made Macaulay a Commissioner in Bankruptcy, and in 1830 Lord Lansdowne made him a member of Parliament. In 1833 he was offered and accepted a seat on the Supreme Council of India. When he returned in 1838 he left behind him as an abiding monument of his ability and industry the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.

In 1839 he became M.P. for Edinburgh, was appointed Secretary for War, and began writing the *History*; in 1842 he published *The Lays of Ancient Rome*; in 1846 he was made Paymaster of the Forces, and at the General Election of 1847 Edinburgh rejected him. He had been too much of a Whig to please the Radicals, too much of a Tory to please the Whigs, and he would not sacrifice his independence of thought and action to please anybody. He would always be proud, he told the electors, to think that he once enjoyed their favour; he would remember no less proudly how he risked and how he lost it. In 1852 Edinburgh atoned for her error by returning him unmasked. In 1856 failing health obliged him to retire from Parliament, and in 1857 a peerage was conferred on him unsought.

The first and second volumes of the *History* were published in November, 1848. Writing to his sister in October he says: "I have armed myself with all my philosophy for the event of a failure". If he had any need of philosophy it was to bear success not failure. Probably no serious work had ever sold so rapidly in this country. A second edition was wanted in December, another was exhausted before the end of March, and by April there were half a dozen rival pirated editions circulating in the United States.

The third and fourth volumes were published in December, 1855, and sold even more rapidly. Twenty-five thousand copies were ordered before publication, and the cheque for £20,000 which was paid on account in March is still preserved by Messrs. Longmans as a curiosity.

Macaulay died on 28th December, 1859, leaving a fifth volume practically ready, but leaving untouched seven-eighths of the work which he had contemplated.

The popularity of the *History*, which remains unabated to this day, rests on Macaulay's original conception of what history should be, on the skill with which he marshalled his stupendous stores of knowledge, on the graphic and pictur-

esque narrative, and on the clearness of the style.¹ The *History* has the merits of the *Essays* without all their faults. The tone is more judicial; there is less dogmatism, less exaggeration of statement, and less ornamentation; there is (as far as was possible with Macaulay) an absence of party bias, and to say that the matter is as interesting as a novel is to pay a compliment—to novels—which few of them deserve.

Every contemporary who has written of him mentions his prodigious powers of conversation. Tom Moore, for instance, after dining with the Marquis of Lansdowne, writes: "The dinner and evening very agreeable; Macaulay wonderful. Never, perhaps, was there combined so much talent with so marvellous a memory." Of his confidence in his own judgment Lord Melbourne once said: "I wish that I was as sure of any one thing as Tom Macaulay is of everything". Sydney Smith, himself a great talker, admired Macaulay sincerely, but could not refrain from banter on his flow of words. Before he went to India his enemies might have said that he talked rather too much, "but now he has occasional flashes of silence that make his conversation perfectly delightful". "Oh, yes!" proceeds Smith, "we both talk a great deal, but I don't believe Macaulay ever did hear my voice! Sometimes when I have told a good story I have thought to myself, 'Poor Macaulay! he will be very sorry some day to have missed hearing that!'" Smith also wished that he could write poetry. He would, if he could, write an *Inferno*, and he would put Macaulay among a number of disputants and gag him!

¹ Some Lancashire operatives sent Macaulay a vote of thanks "for having written a history which working men could understand"

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER III

I INTEND, in this chapter, to give a description of the state in which England was at the time when the crown passed from Charles the Second to his brother. Such a description, composed from scanty and dispersed materials, must necessarily be very imperfect. 5 Yet it may perhaps correct some false notions which would make the subsequent narrative unintelligible or uninstrusive.

If we would study with profit the history of our ancestors, we must be constantly on our guard against 10 that delusion which the well known names of families, places, and offices naturally produce, and must never forget that the country of which we read was a very different country from that in which we live. In every experimental science there is a tendency towards 15 perfection. In every human being there is a wish to ameliorate his own condition. These two principles have often sufficed, even when counteracted by great public calamities and by bad institutions, to carry civilisation rapidly forward. No ordinary misfortune, 20 no ordinary misgovernment, will do so much to make a nation wretched, as the constant progress of physical knowledge and the constant effort of every man to better himself will do to make a nation prosperous. It has often been found that profuse expenditure, 25 heavy taxation, absurd commercial restrictions, corrupt tribunals, disastrous wars, seditions, persecutions, conflagrations, inundations, have not been able

to destroy capital so fast as the exertions of private citizens have been able to create it. It can easily be proved that, in our own land, the national wealth has, during at least six centuries, been almost uninterruptedly increasing; that it was greater under the Tudors than under the Plantagenets; that it was greater under the Stuarts than under the Tudors; that, in spite of battles, sieges, and confiscations, it was greater on the day of the Restoration than on the day when the Long Parliament met; that, in spite of maladministration, of extravagance, of public bankruptcy, of two costly and unsuccessful wars, of the pestilence and of the fire, it was greater on the day of the death of Charles the Second than on the day of his Restoration. This progress, having continued during many ages, became at length, about the middle of the eighteenth century, portentously rapid, and has proceeded, during the nineteenth, with accelerated velocity. In consequence partly of our geographical and partly of our moral position, we have, during several generations, been exempt from evils which have elsewhere impeded the efforts and destroyed the fruits of industry. While every part of the Continent, from Moscow to Lisbon, has been the theatre of bloody and devastating wars, no hostile standard has been seen here but as a trophy. While revolutions have taken place all around us, our government has never once been subverted by violence. During more than a hundred years there has been in our island no tumult of sufficient importance to be called an insurrection; nor has the law been once borne down either by popular fury or by regal tyranny: public credit has been held sacred: the administration of justice has been pure: even in times which might by Englishmen be justly called evil times, we have enjoyed what almost every other nation in the world would have considered as an

ample measure of civil and religious freedom. Every man has felt entire confidence that the state would protect him in the possession of what had been earned by his diligence and hoarded by his selfdenial. Under the benignant influence of peace and liberty, science has flourished, and has been applied to practical purposes on a scale never before known. The consequence is that a change to which the history of the old world furnishes no parallel has taken place in our country. Could the England of 1685 be, by some magical process, set before our eyes, we should not know one landscape in a hundred or one building in ten thousand. The country gentleman would not recognise his own fields. The inhabitant of the town would not recognise his own street. Everything has been changed, but the great features of nature, and a few massive and durable works of human art. We might find out Snowdon and Windermere, the Cheddar Cliffs and Beachy Head. We might find out here and there a Norman minster, or a castle which witnessed the wars of the Roses. But, with such rare exceptions, everything would be strange to us. Many thousands of square miles which are now rich corn land and meadow, intersected by green hedgerows, and dotted with villages and pleasant country seats, would appear as moors overgrown with furze, or fens abandoned to wild ducks. We should see straggling huts built of wood and covered with thatch, where we now see manufacturing towns and seaports renowned to the farthest ends of the world. The capital itself would shrink to dimensions not much exceeding those of its present suburb on the south of the Thames. Not less strange to us would be the garb and manners of the people, the furniture and the equipages, the interior of the shops and dwellings. (Such a change in the state of a nation seems to be at least as well entitled to the notice of a

historian as any change of the dynasty or of the ministry.¹

One of the first objects of an inquirer, who wishes to form a correct notion of the state of a community at a given time, must be to ascertain of how many persons that community then consisted. Unfortunately the population of England in 1685 cannot be ascertained with perfect accuracy. For no great state had then adopted the wise course of periodically numbering the people. All men were left to conjecture for themselves; and, as they generally conjectured without examining facts, and under the influence of strong passions and prejudices, their guesses were often ludicrously absurd. Even intelligent Londoners ordinarily talked of London as containing several millions of souls. It was confidently asserted by many that, during the thirty-five years which had elapsed between the accession of Charles the First and the Restoration, the population of the City had increased by two millions.² Even while the ravages of the plague and fire were recent, it was the fashion to say that the capital still had a million and a half of inhabitants.³ Some persons, disgusted by these exaggerations, ran violently into the opposite extreme. Thus Isaac Vossius, a man of undoubted parts and learning, strenuously maintained that there were only two

¹ During the interval which has elapsed since this chapter was written, England has continued to advance rapidly in material prosperity. I have left my text nearly as it originally stood; but I have added a few notes which may enable the reader to form some notion of the progress which has been made during the last nine years; and, in general, I would desire him to remember that there is scarcely a district which is not more populous, or a source of wealth which is not more productive, at present than in 1848. (1857.)

² Observations on the Bills of Mortality, by Captain John Graunt (Sir William Petty), chap. xi.

"She doth comprehend
Full fifteen hundred thousand which do spend
Their days within."

Great Britain's Beauty, 1671.

millions of human beings in England, Scotland, and Ireland taken together.¹

We are not, however, left without the means of correcting the wild blunders into which some minds were hurried by national vanity and others by a morbid love of paradox. There are extant three computations which seem to be entitled to peculiar attention. They are entirely independent of each other: they proceed on different principles; and yet there is little difference in the results.

One of these computations was made in the year 1696 by Gregory King, Lancaster herald, a political arithmetician of great acuteness and judgment. The basis of his calculations was the number of houses returned in 1690 by the officers who made the last collection of the hearth money. The conclusion at which he arrived was that the population of England was nearly five millions and a half.²

About the same time King William the Third was desirous to ascertain the comparative strength of the religious sects into which the community was divided. An inquiry was instituted; and reports were laid before him from all the dioceses of the realm. According to these reports the number of his English subjects must have been about five million two hundred thousand.³

¹ Isaac Vossius, *De Magnitudine Urbium Sinarum*, 1685. Vossius, as we learn from Saint Evremond, talked on this subject oftener and longer than fashionable circles cared to listen.

² King's *Natural and Political Observations*, 1696. This valuable treatise, which ought to be read as the author wrote it, and not as garbled by Davenant, will be found in some editions of Chalmers's *Estimate*.

³ Dalrymple's *Appendix to Part II. Book I.* The practice of reckoning the population by sects was long fashionable. Gulliver says of the King of Brobdingnag: "He laughed at my odd arithmetic, as he was pleased to call it, in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us in religion and politics."

Lastly, in our own days, Mr. Finlaison, an actuary of eminent skill, subjected the ancient parochial registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, to all the tests which the modern improvements in statistical science enabled him to apply. His opinion was, that, 5 at the close of the seventeenth century, the population of England was a little under five million two hundred thousand souls.¹

Of these three estimates, framed without concert by different persons from different sets of materials, 10 the highest, which is that of King does not exceed the lowest, which is that of Finlaison, by one twelfth. We may, therefore, with confidence pronounce that, when James the Second reigned, England contained between five million and five million five hundred 15 thousand inhabitants. On the very highest supposition she then had less than one third of her present population, and less than three times the population which is now collected in her gigantic capital.

The increase of the people has been great in every 20 part of the kingdom, but generally much greater in the northern than in the southern shires. In truth a large part of the country beyond Trent was, down to the eighteenth century, in a state of barbarism. Physical and moral causes had concurred to prevent 25 civilisation from spreading to that region. The air was inclement; the soil was generally such as required skilful and industrious cultivation; and there could be little skill or industry in a tract which was often the theatre of war, and which, even when there was 30 nominal peace, was constantly desolated by bands of Scottish marauders. Before the union of the two British crowns, and long after that union, there was as great a difference between Middlesex and Northumberland as there now is between Massachusetts and 35 the settlements of those squatters who, far to the west

¹ Preface to the Population Returns of 1831.

of the Mississippi, administer a rude justice with the rifle and the dagger. In the reign of Charles the Second, the traces left by ages of slaughter and pillage were distinctly perceptible, many miles south of the Tweed, in the face of the country and in the lawless 5 manners of the people. There was still a large class of mosstroopers, whose calling was to plunder dwellings and to drive away whole herds of cattle. It was found necessary, soon after the Restoration, to enact laws of great severity for the prevention of these 10 outrages. The magistrates of Northumberland and Cumberland were authorised to raise bands of armed men for the defence of property and order; and provision was made for meeting the expense of these levies by local taxation.¹ The parishes were required 15 to keep bloodhounds for the purpose of hunting the frebooters. Many old men who were living in the middle of the eighteenth century could well remember the time when those ferocious dogs were common.² Yet, even with such auxiliaries, it was often found 20 impossible to track the robbers to their retreats among the hills and morasses. For the geography of that wild country was very imperfectly known. Even after the accession of George the Third, the path over the fells from Borrowdale to Ravenglas was still a secret 25 carefully kept by the dalesmen, some of whom had probably in their youth escaped from the pursuit of justice by that road.³ The seats of the gentry and the larger farmhouses were fortified. Oxen were penned at night beneath the overhanging battlements of the residence, which was known by the name of the Peel. 30 The inmates slept with arms at their sides. Huge stones and boiling water were in readiness to crush

¹ Statutes 14 Car. II. c. 22.; 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 3.; 29 & 30 Car. II. c. 2.

² Nicholson and Bourne, Discourse on the Ancient State of the Border, 1777.

³ Gray's Journal of a Tour in the Lakes, Oct. 3. 1769.

1 Sq. Tower built in 16th cent. in border. sometimes 17.
in 17th cent.

and scold the plunderer who might venture to assail the little garrison. No traveller ventured into that country without making his will. The Judges on circuit, with the whole body of barristers, attorneys, clerks, and serving men, rode on horseback from Newcastle to Carlisle, armed and escorted by a strong guard under the command of the Sheriffs. It was necessary to carry provisions; for the country was a wilderness which afforded no supplies. The spot where the cavalcade halted to dine, under an immense oak, is not yet forgotten. The irregular vigour with which criminal justice was administered shocked observers whose lives had been passed in more tranquil districts. Juries, animated by hatred and by a sense of common danger, convicted housebreakers and cattle stealers with the promptitude of a court martial in a mutiny; and the convicts were hurried by scores to the gallows.¹ Within the memory of some whom this generation has seen, the sportsman who wandered in pursuit of game to the sources of the Tyne found the heaths round Keeldar Castle peopled by a race scarcely less savage than the Indians of California, and heard with surprise the half naked women chaunting a wild measure, while the men with brandished dirks danced a war dance.²

Rever 1685

Slowly and with difficulty peace was established on the border. (In the train of peace came industry and all the arts of life.) Meanwhile it was discovered that the regions north of the Trent possessed in their coal beds a source of wealth far more precious than the gold mines of Peru. It was found that, in the neighbourhood of these beds, almost every manufacture might be most profitably carried on. A constant

¹ North's Life of Guildford; Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, Parish of Brampton.

² See Sir Walter Scott's Journal, Oct 7. 1827, in his Life by Mr. Lockhart.

stream of emigrants began to roll northward. It appeared by the returns of 1841 that the ancient archiepiscopal province of York contained two-sevenths of the population of England. At the time of the Revolution that province was believed to contain only one seventh of the population.¹ In Lancashire the number of inhabitants appears to have increased ninefold, while in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire it has hardly doubled.²

Of the taxation we can speak with more confidence and precision than of the population. The revenue of England, when Charles the Second died, was small, when compared with the resources which she even then possessed, or with the sums which were raised by the governments of the neighbouring countries. It had, from the time of the Restoration, been almost constantly increasing; yet it was little more than three fourths of the revenue of the United Provinces, and was hardly one fifth of the revenue of France.

The most important head of receipt was the excise, which, in the last year of the reign of Charles, produced five hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds, clear of all deductions. The net proceeds of the customs amounted in the same year to five hundred and thirty thousand pounds. These burdens did not lie very heavy on the nation. The tax on chimneys, though less productive, called forth far louder murmurs. The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, almost always out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring

¹ Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II. Book I. The returns of the hearth money lead to nearly the same conclusion. The hearths in the province of York were not a sixth of the hearths of England.

² I do not, of course, pretend to strict accuracy here; but I believe that whoever will take the trouble to compare the last returns of hearth money in the reign of William the Third with the census of 1841, will come to a conclusion not very different from mine.

into the Exchequer; and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious: for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits; and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive. The poorer householders were frequently unable to pay their hearthmoney to the day. When this happened, their furniture was distrained without mercy: for the tax was farmed; and a farmer of taxes is, of all creditors, proverbially the most rapacious. The collectors were loudly accused of performing their unpopular duty with harshness and insolence. It was said that, as soon as they appeared at the threshold of a cottage, the children began to wail, and the old women ran to hide their earthenware. Nay, the single bed of a poor family had sometimes been carried away and sold. The net annual receipt from this tax was two hundred thousand pounds.¹

¹ There are in the Pepysian Library some ballads of that age on the chimney money. I will give a specimen or two:—

“ The good old dames, whenever they the chimney man espied,
Unto their nooks they haste away, their pots and pipkins hide.
There is not one old dame in ten, and search the nation through,
But, if you talk of chimney men, will spare a curse or two.”

Again:

“ Like plundering soldiers they’d enter the door,
And make a distress on the goods of the poor,
While frightened poor children distractedly cried;
This nothing abated their insolent pride.”

In the British Museum there are doggrel verses composed on the same subject and in the same spirit:

“ Or, if through poverty it be not paid,
For cruelty to tear away the single bed,
On which the poor man rests his weary head,
At once deprives him of his rest and bread.”

I take this opportunity, the first which occurs, of acknowledging most gratefully the kind and liberal manner in which the Master and Vicemaster of Magdalene College, Cambridge, gave me access to the valuable collections of Pepys.

When to the three great sources of income which have been mentioned we add the royal domains, then far more extensive than at present, the first fruits and tenths, which had not yet been surrendered to the Church, the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the 5 forfeitures, and the fines, we shall find that the whole annual revenue of the crown may be fairly estimated at about fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Of this revenue part was hereditary: the rest had been granted to Charles for life; and he was at liberty to 10 lay out the whole exactly as he thought fit. Whatever he could save by retrenching from the expenditure of the public departments was an addition to his privy purse. Of the Post Office more will hereafter be said. The profits of that establishment had 15 been appropriated by Parliament to the Duke of York.

The King's revenue was, or rather ought to have been, charged with the payment of about eighty thousand pounds a year, the interest of the sum 20 fraudulently detained in the Exchequer by the Cabal. While Danby was at the head of the finances, the creditors had received dividends, though not with the strict punctuality of modern times: but those who had succeeded him at the Treasury had been less ex- 25 pert, or less solicitous to maintain public faith. Since the victory won by the court over the Whigs, not a farthing had been paid; and no redress was granted to the sufferers, till a new dynasty had been many years on the throne. There can be no greater error 30 than to imagine that the device of meeting the exigencies of the state by loans was imported into our island by William the Third. What really dates from his reign is not the system of borrowing, but the system of funding. From a period of immemorial 35 antiquity it had been the practice of every English government to contract debts. What the Revolution

* a system of finance by which provision is made for paying annual interest on public debt.

introduced was the practice of honestly paying them.¹

By plundering the public creditor, it was possible to make an income of about fourteen hundred thousand pounds, with some occasional help from Versailles, to support the necessary charges of the government and the wasteful expenditure of the court. For that load which pressed most heavily on the finances of the great continental states was here scarcely felt. In France, Germany, and the Netherlands, armies, such as Henry the Fourth and Philip the Second had never employed in time of war, were kept up in the midst of peace. Bastions and ravelins were everywhere rising, constructed on principles unknown to Parma and Spinola. Stores of artillery and ammunition were accumulated, such as even Richelieu, whom the preceding generation had regarded as a worker of prodigies, would have pronounced fabulous. (No man could journey many leagues in those countries without hearing the drums of a regiment on march, or being challenged by the sentinels on the draw-bridge of a fortress.) In our island, on the contrary, it was possible to live long and to travel far, without being once reminded, by any martial sight or sound, that the defence of nations had become a science and a calling. The majority of Englishmen who were under twenty-five years of age had probably never seen a company of regular soldiers. Of the cities which, in the civil war, had valiantly repelled hostile armies, scarcely one was now capable of sustaining a siege. The gates stood open night and day. The ditches were dry. The ramparts had been suffered to fall into decay, or were repaired only that the townsfolk might have a pleasant walk on summer evenings. Of the old baronial keeps many had been shattered

¹ My chief authorities for this financial statement will be found in the Commons' Journal, March 1. and March 20. 1683.

by the cannon of Fairfax and Cromwell, and lay in heaps of ruin, overgrown with ivy. Those which remained had lost their martial character, and were now rural palaces of the aristocracy. The moats were turned into preserves of carp and pike. The mounds were planted with fragrant shrubs, through which spiral walks ran up to summer houses adorned with mirrors and paintings.¹ On the capes of the sea coast, and on many inland hills, were still seen tall posts, surmounted by barrels. Once those barrels had been filled with pitch. Watchmen had been set round them in seasons of danger; and, within a few hours after a Spanish sail had been discovered in the Channel, or after a thousand Scottish moss-troopers had crossed the Tweed, the signal fires were blazing fifty miles off, and whole counties were rising in arms. But many years had now elapsed since the beacons had been lighted; and they were regarded rather as curious relics of ancient manners than as parts of a machinery necessary to the safety of the state.²

The only army which the law recognised was the militia. That force had been remodelled by two Acts of Parliament passed shortly after the Restoration. Every man who possessed five hundred pounds a year derived from land, or six thousand pounds of personal estate, was bound to provide, equip, and pay, at his own charge, one horseman. Every man who had fifty pounds a year derived from land, or six hundred pounds of personal estate, was charged in like manner with one pikeman or musketeer. Smaller proprietors were joined together in a kind of society, for which our language does not afford a special name, but which an Athenian would have called a Synteleia; and each society was required to furnish, according to

¹ See for example the picture of the mound at Marlborough, in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

² Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684.

its means, a horse soldier or a foot soldier. The whole number of cavalry and infantry thus maintained was popularly estimated at a hundred and thirty thousand men.¹

The King was, by the ancient constitution of the 5 realm, and by the recent and solemn acknowledgment of both Houses of Parliament, the sole Captain General of this large force. The Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies held the command under him, and appointed meetings for drilling and inspection. The 10 time occupied by such meetings, however, was not to exceed fourteen days in one year. The Justices of the Peace were authorised to inflict slight penalties for breaches of discipline. Of the ordinary cost no part was paid by the crown : but when the trainbands were 15 called out against an enemy, their subsistence became a charge on the general revenue of the state, and they were subject to the utmost rigour of martial law.

There were those who looked on the militia with no friendly eye. Men who had travelled much on the 20 Continent, who had marvelled at the stern precision with which every sentinel moved and spoke in the citadels built by Vauban, who had seen the mighty armies which poured along all the roads of Germany to chase the Ottoman from the Gates of Vienna, and 25 who had been dazzled by the well ordered pomp of the household troops of Lewis, sneered much at the way in which the peasants of Devonshire and Yorkshire marched and wheeled, shouldered muskets and ported pikes. The enemies of the liberties and 30 religion of England looked with aversion on a force which could not, without extreme risk, be employed against those liberties and that religion, and missed no opportunity of throwing ridicule on the rustic

¹ 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 3. ; 15 Car. II. c. 4. Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684.

soldiery.¹ Enlightened patriots, when they contrasted these rude levies with the battalions which, in time of war, a few hours might bring to the coast of Kent or Sussex, were forced to acknowledge that, dangerous as it might be to keep up a permanent military establishment, it might be more dangerous still to stake the honour and independence of the country on the result of a contest between ploughmen officered by Justices of the Peace, and veteran warriors led by Marshals of France. In Parliament, however, it was necessary 10 to express such opinions with some reserve; for the militia was an institution eminently popular. Every reflection thrown on it excited the indignation of both the great parties in the state, and especially of that party which was distinguished by peculiar zeal 15 for monarchy and for the Anglican Church. The array of the counties was commanded almost exclusively by Tory noblemen and gentlemen. They were proud of their military rank, and considered an insult offered to the service to which they belonged as 20 offered to themselves. They were also perfectly aware that whatever was said against a militia was said in favour of a standing army; and the name of standing army was hateful to them. One such army 25 had held dominion in England; and under that dominion the King had been murdered, the nobility

¹ Dryden, in his *Cymon and Iphigenia*, expressed, with his usual keenness and energy, the sentiments which had been fashionable among the sycophants of James the Second:—

“The country rings around with loud alarms,
And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
Mouths without hands, maintained at vast expense,
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence.
Stout once a month they march, a blustering band,
And ever, but in time of need, at hand.
This was the morn when, issuing on the guard,
Drawn up in rank and file, they stood prepared
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day.”

degraded, the landed gentry plundered, the Church persecuted. There was scarcely a rural grandee who could not tell a story of wrongs and insults suffered by himself, or by his father, at the hands of the parliamentary soldiers. One old Cavalier had seen half his manor house blown up. The hereditary elms of another had been hewn down. A third could never go into his parish church without being reminded by the defaced scutcheons and headless statues of his ancestry, that Oliver's redcoats had once stabled their horses there. The consequence was that those very Royalists, who were most ready to fight for the King themselves, were the last persons whom he could venture to ask for the means of hiring regular troops.

Charles, however, had, a few months after his restoration, begun to form a small standing army. He felt that, without some better protection than that of the trainbands and beefeaters, his palace and person would hardly be secure, in the vicinity of a great city swarming with warlike Fifth Monarchy men who had just been disbanded. He therefore, careless and profuse as he was, contrived to spare from his pleasures a sum sufficient to keep up a body of guards. With the increase of trade and of public wealth his revenues increased; and he was thus enabled, in spite of the occasional murmurs of the Commons, to make gradual additions to his regular forces. One considerable addition was made a few months before the close of his reign. The costly, useless, and pestilential settlement of Tangier was abandoned to the barbarians who dwelt around it; and the garrison, consisting of one regiment of horse and two regiments of foot, was brought to England.

The little army formed by Charles the Second was the germ of that great and renowned army which has, in the present century, marched triumphant into

Madrid and Paris, into Canton and Candahar. *The Life Guards, who now form two regiments, were then distributed into three troops, each of which consisted of two hundred carabineers, exclusive of officers. This corps, to which the safety of the King and royal family was confided, had a very peculiar character. Even the privates were designated as gentlemen of the Guard. Many of them were of good families, and had held commissions in the civil war. Their pay was far higher than that of the most favoured regiment of our time, and would in that age have been thought a respectable provision for the younger son of a country squire. Their fine horses, their rich housings, their cuirasses, and their buff coats adorned with ribands, velvet, and gold lace, made a splendid appearance in Saint James's Park. A small body of grenadier dragoons, who came from a lower class and received lower pay, was attached to each troop. Another body of household cavalry distinguished by blue coats and cloaks, and still called the Blues, was generally quartered in the neighbourhood of the capital. Near the capital lay also the corps which is now designated as the first regiment of dragoons, but which was then the only regiment of dragoons on the English establishment. It had recently been formed out of the cavalry which had returned from Tangier. A single troop of dragoons, which did not form part of any regiment, was stationed near Berwick, for the purpose of keeping the peace among the mosstroopers of the border. For this species of service the dragoon was then thought to be peculiarly qualified. He has since become a mere horse soldier. But in the seventeenth century he was accurately described by Montecuculi as a foot soldier who used a horse only in order to arrive with more speed at the place where military service was to be performed.

The household infantry consisted of two regiments,

which were then, as now, called the first regiment of Foot Guards, and the Coldstream Guards. They generally did duty near Whitehall and Saint James's Palace. As there were then no barracks, and as, by the Petition of Right, it had been declared unlawful 5 to quarter soldiers on private families, the redcoats filled all the alehouses of Westminster and the Strand.

There were five other regiments of foot. One of these, called the Admiral's Regiment, was especially 10 destined to service on board of the fleet. The remaining four still rank as the first four regiments of the line. Two of these represented two brigades which had long sustained on the Continent the fame of British valour. The first, or Royal regiment, had, 15 under the great Gustavus, borne a conspicuous part in the deliverance of Germany. The third regiment, distinguished by fleshcoloured facings, from which it had derived the well known name of the Buffs, had, under Maurice of Nassau, fought not less bravely 20 for the deliverance of the Netherlands. Both these gallant bands had at length, after many vicissitudes, been recalled from foreign service by Charles the Second, and had been placed on the English establishment. 25

The regiments which now rank as the second and fourth of the line had, in 1685, just returned from Tangier, bringing with them cruel and licentious habits contracted in a long course of warfare with the Moors. A few companies of infantry which had not 30 been regimented lay in garrison at Tilbury Fort, at Portsmouth, at Plymouth, and at some other important stations on or near the coast.

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century a great change had taken place in the arms of the 35 infantry. The pike had been gradually giving place to the musket, and, at the close of the reign of

Charles the Second, most of his foot were musketeers. Still, however, there was a large intermixture of pikemen. Each class of troops was occasionally instructed in the use of the weapon which peculiarly belonged to the other class. Every foot soldier had at his side 5 a sword for close fight. The musketeer was generally provided with a weapon which had, during many years, been gradually coming into use, and which the English then called a dagger, but which, from the time of William the Third, has been known among us 10 by the French name of bayonet. The bayonet seems not to have been then so formidable an instrument of destruction as it has since become; for it was inserted in the muzzle of the gun; and in action much time was lost while the soldier unfixed his bayonet in order 15 to fire, and fixed it again in order to charge. The dragoon, when dismounted, fought as a musketeer.

The regular army which was kept up in England at the beginning of the year 1685 consisted, all ranks included, of about seven thousand foot, and about 20 seventeen hundred cavalry and dragoons. The whole charge amounted to about two hundred and ninety thousand pounds a year, less than a tenth part of what the military establishment of France then cost in time of peace. The daily pay of a private in the 25 Life Guards was four shillings, in the Blues two shillings and sixpence, in the Dragoons eighteen pence, in the Foot Guards tenpence, and in the line eightpence. The discipline was lax, and indeed could not be otherwise. The common law of England knew 30 nothing of courts martial, and made no distinction, in time of peace, between a soldier and any other subject; nor could the government then venture to ask even the most loyal Parliament for a Mutiny Bill. A soldier, therefore, by knocking down his colonel, incurred only the ordinary penalties of assault and battery, and by refusing to obey orders, by sleeping

on guard, or by deserting his colours, incurred no legal penalty at all. Military punishments were doubtless inflicted during the reign of Charles the Second ; but they were inflicted very sparingly, and in such a manner as not to attract public notice, or to produce 5 an appeal to the courts of Westminster Hall.

Such an army as has been described was not very likely to enslave five millions of Englishmen. It would indeed have been unable to suppress an insurrection in London, if the trainbands of the City had 10 joined the insurgents. Nor could the King expect that, if a rising took place in England, he would obtain effectual help from his other dominions. For, though both Scotland and Ireland supported separate military establishments, those establishments were not 15 more than sufficient to keep down the Puritan malecontents of the former kingdom and the Popish malecontents of the latter. The government had, however, an important military resource which must not be left unnoticed. There were in the pay of the United 20 Provinces six fine regiments, of which three had been raised in England and three in Scotland. Their native prince had reserved to himself the power of recalling them, if he needed their help against a foreign or domestic enemy. In the meantime they were main- 25 tained without any charge to him, and were kept under an excellent discipline, to which he could not have ventured to subject them.¹

If the jealousy of the Parliament and of the nation made it impossible for the King to maintain a formid- 30 able standing army, no similar impediment prevented

¹ Most of the materials which I have used for this account of the regular army will be found in the *Historical Records of Regiments*, published by command of King William the Fourth, and under the direction of the Adjutant General. See also Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684 ; *Abridgment of the English Military Discipline*, printed by especial command, 1685 ; *Exercise of Foot*, by their Majesties' command, 1690.

him from making England the first of maritime powers. Both Whigs and Tories were ready to applaud every step tending to increase the efficiency of that force which, while it was the best protection of the island against foreign enemies, was powerless 5 against civil liberty. All the greatest exploits achieved within the memory of that generation by English soldiers had been achieved in war against English princes. The victories of our sailors had been won over foreign foes, and had averted havoc and rapine 10 from our own soil. By at least half the nation the battle of Naseby was remembered with horror, and the battle of Dunbar with pride chequered by many painful feelings : but the defeat of the Armada, and the encounters of Blake with the Hollanders and 15 Spaniards, were recollected with unmixed exultation by all parties. Ever since the Restoration, the Commons, even when most discontented and most parsimonious, had always been bountiful to profusion where the interest of the navy was concerned. It had been 20 represented to them, while Danby was minister, that many of the vessels in the royal fleet were old and unfit for sea ; and, although the House was, at that time, in no giving mood, an aid of near six hundred thousand pounds had been granted for the building of 25 thirty new men of war.

But the liberality of the nation had been made fruitless by the vices of the government. The list of the King's ships, it is true, looked well. There were nine first rates, fourteen second rates, thirty-nine third 30 rates, and many smaller vessels. The first rates, indeed, were less than the third rates of our time ; and the third rates would not now rank as very large frigates. This force, however, if it had been efficient, would in those days have been regarded by the greatest poten- 35 tate as formidable. But it existed only on paper. When the reign of Charles terminated, his navy had

sunk into degradation and decay, such as would be almost incredible if it were not certified to us by the independent and concurring evidence of witnesses whose authority is beyond exception. Pepys, the ablest man in the English Admiralty, drew up, in the year 1684, a memorial on the state of his department, for the information of Charles. A few months later Bonrepaux, the ablest man in the French Admiralty, having visited England for the especial purpose of ascertaining her maritime strength, laid the result of his inquiries before Lewis. The two reports are to the same effect. Bonrepaux declared that he found everything in disorder and in miserable condition, that the superiority of the French marine was acknowledged with shame and envy at Whitehall, and that the state of our shipping and dockyards was of itself a sufficient guarantee that we should not meddle in the disputes of Europe.¹ Pepys informed his master that the naval administration was a prodigy of wastefulness, corruption, ignorance, and indolence, that no estimate could be trusted, that no contract was performed, that no check was enforced. The vessels which the recent liberality of Parliament had enabled the government to build, and which had never been out of harbour, had been made of such wretched timber that they were more unfit to go to sea than the old hulls which had been battered thirty years before by Dutch and Spanish broadsides. Some of the new men of war, indeed, were so rotten that, unless speedily repaired, they would go down at their moorings

¹ I refer to a despatch of Bonrepaux to Seignelay, dated Feb. ¹¹/₁₇ 1686. It was transcribed for Mr. Fox from the French archives, during the peace of Amiens, and, with the other materials brought together by that great man, was entrusted to me by the kindness of the late Lady Holland, and of the present Lord Holland. I ought to add that, even in the midst of the troubles which have lately agitated Paris, I found no difficulty in obtaining, from the liberality of the functionaries there, extracts supplying some chasms in Mr. Fox's collection. (1848.)

The sailors were paid with so little punctuality that they were glad to find some usurer who would purchase their tickets at forty per cent. discount. The commanders who had not powerful friends at court were even worse treated. Some officers, to whom large arrears were due, after vainly importuning the government during many years, had died for want of a morsel of bread.

Most of the ships which were afloat were commanded by men who had not been bred to the sea. This, it is true, was not an abuse introduced by the government of Charles. No state, ancient or modern, had, before that time, made a complete separation between the naval and military services. In the great civilised nations of antiquity, Cimon and Lysander, Pompey and Agrippa, had fought battles by sea as well as by land. Nor had the impulse which nautical science received at the close of the fifteenth century produced any new division of labour. At Flodden the right wing of the victorious army was led by the Admiral of England. At Jarnac and Moncontour the Huguenot ranks were marshalled by the Admiral of France. Neither John of Austria, the conqueror of Lepanto, nor Lord Howard of Effingham, to whose direction the marine of England was confided when the Spanish invaders were approaching our shores, had received the education of a sailor. Raleigh, highly celebrated as a naval commander, had served during many years as a soldier in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Blake had distinguished himself by his skilful and valiant defence of an inland town before he humbled the pride of Holland and of Castile on the ocean. Since the Restoration the same system had been followed. Great fleets had been entrusted to the direction of Rupert and Monk; Rupert, who was renowned chiefly as a hot and daring cavalry officer, and Monk, who, when he wished his ship to change

her course, moved the mirth of his crew by calling out, "Wheel to the left!"

But about this time wise men began to perceive that the rapid improvement, both of the art of war and of the art of navigation, made it necessary to draw a line between two professions which had hitherto been confounded. Either the command of a regiment or the command of a ship was now a matter quite sufficient to occupy the attention of a single mind. In the year 1672 the French government determined to educate young men of good family from a very early age especially for the sea service. But the English government, instead of following this excellent example, not only continued to distribute high naval commands among landmen, but selected for such commands landmen who, even on land, could not safely have been put in any important trust. Any lad of noble birth, any dissolute courtier for whom one of the King's mistresses would speak a word, might hope that a ship of the line, and with it the honour of the country and the lives of hundreds of brave men, would be committed to his care. It mattered not that he had never in his life taken a voyage except on the Thames, that he could not keep his feet in a breeze, that he did not know the difference between latitude and longitude. No previous training was thought necessary; or, at most, he was sent to make a short trip in a man of war, where he was subjected to no discipline, where he was treated with marked respect, and where he lived in a round of revels and amusements. If, in the intervals of feasting, drinking, and gambling, he succeeded in learning the meaning of a few technical phrases and the names of the points of the compass, he was thought fully qualified to take charge of a three-decker. This is no imaginary description. In 1666, John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, at seventeen years of age, volunteered to serve at sea

against the Dutch. He passed six weeks on board, diverting himself, as well as he could, in the society of some young libertines of rank, and then returned home to take the command of a troop of horse. After this he was never on the water till the year 1672, when he again joined the fleet, and was almost immediately appointed Captain of a ship of eighty-four guns, reputed the finest in the navy. He was then twenty-three years old, and had not, in the whole course of his life, been three months afloat. As soon as he came back from sea he was made Colonel of a regiment of foot. This is a specimen of the manner in which naval commands of the highest importance were then given; and a very favourable specimen; for Mulgrave, though he wanted experience, wanted neither parts nor courage. Others were promoted in the same way who not only were not good officers, but who were intellectually and morally incapable of ever becoming good officers, and whose only recommendation was that they had been ruined by folly and vice. The chief bait which allured these men into the service was the profit of conveying bullion and other valuable commodities from port to port; for both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean were then so much infested by pirates from Barbary that merchants were not willing to trust precious cargoes to any custody but that of a man of war. A Captain might thus clear several thousands of pounds by a short voyage; and for this lucrative business he too often neglected the interests of his country and the honour of his flag, made mean submissions to foreign powers, disobeyed the most direct injunctions of his superiors, lay in port when he was ordered to chase a Saltee rover, or ran with dollars to Leghorn when his instructions directed him to repair to Lisbon. And all this he did with impunity. The same interest which had placed him in a post for which he was unfit maintained him there. No Admiral,

bearded by these corrupt and dissolute minions of the palace, dared to do more than mutter something about a court martial. If any officer showed a higher sense of duty than his fellows, he soon found that he lost money without acquiring honour. One Captain, who, 5 by strictly obeying the orders of the Admiralty, missed a cargo which would have been worth four thousand pounds to him, was told by Charles, with ignoble levity, that he was a great fool for his pains. ✓

The discipline of the navy was of a piece through- 10 out. As the courtly Captain despised the Admiralty, he was in turn despised by his crew. It could not be concealed that he was inferior in seamanship to every foremast man on board. It was idle to expect that old sailors, familiar with the hurricanes of the tropics 15 and with the icebergs of the Arctic Circle, would pay prompt and respectful obedience to a chief who knew no more of winds and waves than could be learned in a gilded barge between Whitehall stairs and Hampton Court. To trust such a novice with the working of a 20 ship was evidently impossible. The direction of the navigation was therefore taken from the Captain and given to the Master : but this partition of authority produced innumerable inconveniences. The line of demarcation was not, and perhaps could not be, drawn 25 with precision. There was therefore constant wrangling. The Captain, confident in proportion to his ignorance, treated the Master with lordly contempt. The Master, well aware of the danger of disobliging the powerful, too often, after a struggle, yielded 30 against his better judgment ; and it was well if the loss of ship and crew was not the consequence. In general the least mischievous of the aristocratical Captains were those who completely abandoned to others the direction of the vessels, and thought only 35 of making money and spending it. The way in which these men lived was so ostentatious and

voluptuous that, greedy as they were of gain, they seldom became rich. They dressed as if for a gala at Versailles, ate off plate, drank the richest wines, and kept harems on board, while hunger and scurvy raged among the crews, and while corpses were daily flung 5 out of the portholes.

Such was the ordinary character of those who were then called gentlemen Captains. Mingled with them were to be found, happily for our country, naval commanders of a very different description, men 10 whose whole life had been passed on the deep, and who had worked and fought their way from the lowest offices of the fore-castle to rank and distinction. One of the most eminent of these officers was Sir Christopher Mings, who entered the service as a cabin 15 boy, who fell fighting bravely against the Dutch, and whom his crew, weeping and vowing vengeance, carried to the grave. From him sprang, by a singular kind of descent, a line of valiant and expert sailors. His cabin boy was Sir John Narborough; and the 20 cabin boy of Sir John Narborough was Sir Cloudesley Shovel. To the strong natural sense and dauntless courage of this class of men England owes a debt never to be forgotten. It was by such resolute hearts that, in spite of much maladministration, and in spite 25 of the blunders and treasons of more courtly admirals, our coasts were protected and the reputation of our flag upheld during many gloomy and perilous years. But to a landsman these tarpaulins, as they were called, seemed a strange and half savage race. All 30 their knowledge was professional; and their professional knowledge was practical rather than scientific. Off their own element they were as simple as children. Their deportment was uncouth. There was roughness in their very good nature; and their talk, 35 where it was not made up of nautical phrases, was too commonly made up of oaths and curses. Such

were the chiefs in whose rude school were formed those sturdy warriors from whom Smollett, in the next age, drew Lieutenant Bowling and Commodore Truncheon. But it does not appear that there was in the service of any of the Stuarts a single naval officer such as, according to the notions of our times, a naval officer ought to be, that is to say, a man versed in the theory and practice of his calling, and steeled against all the dangers of battle and tempest, yet of cultivated mind and polished manners. There were gentlemen and there were seamen in the navy of Charles the Second. But the seamen were not gentlemen; and the gentlemen were not seamen. ✓

The English navy at that time might, according to the most exact estimates which have come down to us, have been kept in an efficient state for three hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year. Four hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum actually expended, but expended, as we have seen, to very little purpose. The cost of the French marine was nearly the same; the cost of the Dutch marine considerably more.¹

The charge of the English ordnance in the seventeenth century was, as compared with other military and naval charges, much smaller than at present. At most of the garrisons there were gunners; and here and there, at an important post, an engineer was

¹ My information respecting the condition of the navy, at this time, is chiefly derived from Pepys. His report, presented to Charles the Second in May 1684, has never, I believe, been printed. The manuscript is at Magdalene College, Cambridge. At Magdalene College is also a valuable manuscript containing a detailed account of the maritime establishments of the country in December 1684. Pepys's "Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy for Ten Years, determined December 1688," and his diary and correspondence during his mission to Tangier, are in print. I have made large use of them. See also Sheffield's *Memoirs*, Teonge's *Diary*, Aubrey's *Life of Monk*, the *Life of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, 1708, *Commons' Journals*, March 1. and March 20. 1683.

to be found. But there was no regiment of artillery, no brigade of sappers and miners, no college in which young soldiers could learn the scientific part of the art of war. The difficulty of moving field pieces was extreme. When, a few years later, William marched 5 from Devonshire to London, the apparatus which he brought with him, though such as had long been in constant use on the Continent, and such as would now be regarded at Woolwich as rude and cumbrous, excited in our ancestors an admiration resembling 10 that which the Indians of America felt for the Castilian harquebusses. The stock of gunpowder kept in the English forts and arsenals was boastfully mentioned by patriotic writers as something which might well impress neighbouring nations with awe. 15 It amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand barrels, about a twelfth of the quantity which it is now thought necessary to have in store. The expenditure under the head of ordnance was on an average a little above sixty thousand pounds a year.¹ 20

The whole effective charge of the army, navy, and ordnance, was about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The noneffective charge, which is now a heavy part of our public burdens, can hardly be said to have existed. A very small number of naval 25 officers, who were not employed in the public service, drew half pay. No Lieutenant was on the list, nor any Captain who had not commanded a ship of the first or second rate. As the country then possessed only seventeen ships of the first and second rate that 30 had ever been at sea, and as a large proportion of the persons who had commanded such ships had good posts on shore, the expenditure under this head must

¹ Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684; Commons' Journals, March 1. and March 20. 1688. In 1833, it was determined, after full enquiry, that a hundred and seventy thousand barrels of gunpowder should constantly be kept in store.

have been small indeed.¹ In the army, half pay was given merely as a special and temporary allowance to a small number of officers belonging to two regiments, which were peculiarly situated.² Greenwich Hospital had not been founded. Chelsea Hospital was building: but the cost of that institution was defrayed partly by a deduction from the pay of the troops, and partly by private subscription. The King promised to contribute only twenty thousand pounds for architectural expenses, and five thousand a year for the maintenance of the invalids.³ It was no part of the plan that there should be outpensioners. The whole noneffective charge, military and naval, can scarcely have exceeded ten thousand pounds a year. It now exceeds ten thousand pounds a day.

Of the expense of civil government only a small portion was defrayed by the crown. The great majority of the functionaries whose business was to administer justice and preserve order either gave their services to the public gratuitously, or were remunerated in a manner which caused no drain on the revenue of the state. The sheriffs, mayors, and aldermen of the towns, the country gentlemen who were in the commission of the peace, the head-boroughs, bailiffs, and petty constables, cost the King nothing. The superior courts of law were chiefly supported by fees.

Our relations with foreign courts had been put on the most economical footing. The only diplomatic agent who had the title of Ambassador resided at Constantinople, and was partly supported by the Turkey Company. Even at the court of Versailles

¹ It appears from the records of the Admiralty, that Flag officers were allowed half pay in 1668, Captains of first and second rates not till 1674.

² Warrant in the War Office Records, dated March 26. 1678.

³ Evelyn's Diary, Jan. 27. 1682. I have seen a privy seal, dated May 17. 1683, which confirms Evelyn's testimony.

15 charge
of civil
govt.

England had only an Envoy; and she had not even an Envoy at the Spanish, Swedish, and Danish courts. The whole expense under this head cannot, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, have much exceeded twenty thousand pounds.¹

great
savings
ministers
&
courtiers

In this frugality there was nothing laudable. Charles was, as usual, niggardly in the wrong place, and munificent in the wrong place. The public service was starved that courtiers might be pampered. The expense of the navy, of the ordnance, of pensions to needy old officers, of missions to foreign courts, must seem small indeed to the present generation. But the personal favourites of the sovereign, his ministers, and the creatures of those ministers, were gorged with public money. Their salaries and pensions, when compared with the incomes of the nobility, the gentry, the commercial and professional men of that age, will appear enormous. The greatest estates in the kingdom then very little exceeded twenty thousand a year. The Duke of Ormond had twenty-two thousand a year.² The Duke of Buckingham, before his extravagance had impaired his great property, had nineteen thousand six hundred a year.³ George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who had been rewarded for his eminent services with immense grants of crown land, and who had been notorious both for covetousness and for parsimony, left fifteen thousand a year of real estate, and sixty thousand pounds in money which probably yielded seven per cent.⁴ These three Dukes were supposed to be three of the very richest subjects in

¹ James the Second sent Envoys to Spain, Sweden, and Denmark; yet in his reign the diplomatic expenditure was little more than 30,000*l.* a year. See the Commons' Journals, March 20. 1683. Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684, 1687.

² Carte's Life of Ormond.

³ Pepys's Diary, Feb. 14. 1663.

⁴ See the Report of the Bath and Montague case, which was decided by Lord Keeper Somers, in December 1693.

England. The Archbishop of Canterbury can hardly have had five thousand a year.¹ The average income of a temporal peer was estimated, by the best informed persons, at about three thousand a year, the average income of a baronet at nine hundred a year, the average income of a member of the House of Commons at less than eight hundred a year.² A thousand a year was thought a large revenue for a barrister. Two thousand a year was hardly to be made in the Court of King's Bench, except by the crown lawyers.³ It is evident, therefore, that an official man would have been well paid if he had received a fourth or fifth part of what would now be an adequate stipend. In fact, however, the stipends of the higher class of official men were as large as at present, and not seldom larger. The Lord Treasurer, for example, had eight thousand a year, and, when the Treasury was in commission, the junior Lords had sixteen hundred a year each. The Paymaster of the Forces had a poundage, amounting, in time of peace, to about five thousand a year, on all the money which passed through his hands. The Groom of the Stole had five thousand a year, the Commissioners of the Customs twelve hundred a year each, the Lords of the Bedchamber a thousand a year each.⁴ The regular salary, however, was the smallest

¹ During three quarters of a year, beginning from Christmas 1689, the revenues of the see of Canterbury were received by an officer appointed by the crown. That officer's accounts are now in the British Museum. (Lansdowne MSS. 885.) The gross revenue for the three quarters was not quite four thousand pounds; and the difference between the gross and the net revenue was evidently something considerable.

² King's Natural and Political Conclusions. Davenant on the Balance of Trade. Sir W. Temple says, "The revenues of a House of Commons have seldom exceeded four hundred thousand pounds." *Memoirs*, Third Part.

³ Langton's Conversations with Chief Justice Hale, 1672.

⁴ Commons' Journals, April 27. 1689; Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684.

part of the gains of an official man of that age. • From the noblemen who held the white staff and the great seal, down to the humblest tidewaiter and gauger, what would now be called gross corruption was practised without disguise and without reproach. Titles, 5 places, commissions, pardons, were daily sold in market overt by the great dignitaries of the realm; and every clerk in every department imitated, to the best of his power, the evil example.

During the last century no prime minister, how- 10 ever powerful, has become rich in office; and several prime ministers have impaired their private fortune in sustaining their public character. In the seventeenth century, a statesman who was at the head of affairs might easily, and without giving scandal, accumulate 15 in no long time an estate amply sufficient to support a dukedom. It is probable that the income of the prime minister, during his tenure of power, far exceeded that of any other subject. The place of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was popularly reported to be worth 20 forty thousand pounds a year.¹ The gains of the Chancellor Clarendon, of Arlington, of Lauderdale, and of Danby, were certainly enormous. The sumptuous palace to which the populace of London gave the name of Dunkirk House, the stately pavilions, the 25 fishponds, the deer park and the orangery of Euston, the more than Italian luxury of Ham, with its busts, fountains, and aviaries, were among the many signs which indicated what was the shortest road to boundless wealth. This is the true explanation of the un- 30 scrupulous violence with which the statesmen of that day struggled for office, of the tenacity with which, in spite of vexations, humiliations and dangers, they clung to it, and of the scandalous compliances to which they stooped in order to retain it. Even in our own age, 35 formidable as is the power of opinion, and high as is

¹ See the Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo.

the standard of integrity, there would be great risk of a lamentable change in the character of our public men, if the place of First Lord of the Treasury or Secretary of State were worth a hundred thousand pounds a year. Happily for our country the emoluments of the highest class of functionaries have not only not grown in proportion to the general growth of our opulence, but have positively diminished.

The fact that the sum raised in England by taxation has, in a time not exceeding two long lives, been multiplied forty-fold, is strange, and may at first sight seem appalling. But those who are alarmed by the increase of the public burdens may perhaps be reassured when they have considered the increase of the public resources. In the year 1685, the value of the produce of the soil far exceeded the value of all the other fruits of human industry. Yet agriculture was in what would now be considered as a very rude and imperfect state. The arable land and pasture land were not supposed by the best political arithmeticians of that age to amount to much more than half the area of the kingdom.¹ The remainder was believed to consist of moor, forest, and fen. These computations are strongly confirmed by the road books and maps of the seventeenth century. From those books and maps it is clear that many routes which now pass through an endless succession of orchards, cornfields, hayfields, and beanfields, then ran through nothing but heath, swamp, and warren.² In the drawings of

State of
agriculture

¹ King's Natural and Political Conclusions. Davenant on the Balance of Trade.

² See the Itinerarium Angliæ, 1675, by John Ogilby, Cosmographer Royal. He describes great part of the land as wood, fen, heath on both sides, marsh on both sides. In some of his maps the roads through enclosed country are marked by lines, and the roads through unenclosed country by dots. The proportion of unenclosed country, which, if cultivated, must have been wretchedly cultivated, seems to have been very great. From Abingdon to Gloucester, for example, a

English landscapes made in that age for the Grand Duke Cosmo, scarce a hedgerow is to be seen, and numerous tracts, now rich with cultivation, appear as bare as Salisbury Plain.¹ At Enfield, hardly out of sight of the smoke of the capital, was a region of five and twenty miles in circumference, which contained only three houses and scarcely any enclosed fields. Deer, as free as in an American forest, wandered there by thousands.² It is to be remarked, that wild animals of large size were then far more numerous than at present. The last wild boars, indeed, which had been preserved for the royal diversion, and had been allowed to ravage the cultivated land with their tusks, had been slaughtered by the exasperated rustics during the license of the civil war. The last wolf that has roamed our island had been slain in Scotland a short time before the close of the reign of Charles the Second. (But many breeds, now extinct, or rare, both of quadrupeds and birds, were still common.) The fox, whose life is now, in many counties, held almost as sacred as that of a human being, was then considered as a mere nuisance. Oliver Saint John told the Long Parliament that Strafford was to be regarded, not as a stag or a hare, to whom some law was to be given, but as a fox, who was to be snared by any means, and knocked on the head without pity. This illustration would be by no means a happy one, if addressed to country gentlemen of our time: but in Saint John's days there were not seldom great massacres of foxes to which the peasantry thronged with all the dogs that could be mustered: traps were set: nets were spread: no quarter was given; and to

distance of forty or fifty miles, there was not a single enclosure, and scarcely one enclosure between Biggleswade and Lincoln.

¹ Large copies of these highly interesting drawings are in the noble collection bequeathed by Mr. Grenville to the British Museum. See particularly the drawings of Exeter and Northampton.

² Evelyn's Diary, June 2. 1675.

shoot a female with cub was considered as a feat which merited the warmest gratitude of the neighbourhood. The red deer were then as common in Gloucestershire and Hampshire, as they now are among the Grampian Hills. On one occasion Queen Anne, travelling to Portsmouth, saw a herd of no less than five hundred. The wild bull with his white mane was still to be found wandering in a few of the southern forests. The badger made his dark and tortuous hole on the side of every hill where the copsewood grew thick. The wild cats were frequently heard by night wailing round the lodges of the rangers of Whittlebury and Needwood. The yellow-breasted martin was still pursued in Cranbourne Chase for his fur, reputed inferior only to that of the sable. Fen eagles, measuring more than nine feet between the extremities of the wings, preyed on fish along the coast of Norfolk. On all the downs, from the British Channel to Yorkshire, huge bustards strayed in troops of fifty or sixty, and were often hunted with greyhounds. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered during some months of every year by immense clouds of cranes. Some of these races the progress of cultivation has extirpated. Of others the numbers are so much diminished that men crowd to gaze at a specimen as at a Bengal tiger, or a Polar bear.¹

The progress of this great change can nowhere be more clearly traced than in the Statute Book. The number of enclosure acts passed since King George the Second came to the throne exceeds four thousand. The area enclosed under the authority of those acts exceeds, on a moderate calculation, ten thousand

¹ See White's *Selborne*; Bell's *History of British Quadrupeds*; *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686; Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire*, 1685; Morton's *History of Northamptonshire*, 1712; Willoughby's *Ornithology*, by Ray, 1678; Latham's *General Synopsis of Birds*; and Sir Thomas Browne's *Account of Birds found in Norfolk*.

square miles. How many square miles, which were formerly uncultivated or ill cultivated, have, during the same period, been fenced and carefully tilled by the proprietors without any application to the legislature, can only be conjectured. But it seems highly probable that a fourth part of England has been, in the course of little more than a century, turned from a wild into a garden.

Even in those parts of the kingdom which at the close of the reign of Charles the Second were the best cultivated, the farming, though greatly improved since the civil war, was not such as would now be thought skilful. To this day no effectual steps have been taken by public authority for the purpose of obtaining accurate accounts of the produce of the English soil. The historian must therefore follow, with some misgivings, the guidance of those writers on statistics whose reputation for diligence and fidelity stands highest. At present an average crop of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, is supposed considerably to exceed thirty millions of quarters. The crop of wheat would be thought wretched if it did not exceed twelve millions of quarters. According to the computation made in the year 1696 by Gregory King, the whole quantity of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, then annually grown in the kingdom, was somewhat less than ten millions of quarters. The wheat, which was then cultivated only on the strongest clay, and consumed only by those who were in easy circumstances, he estimated at less than two millions of quarters. Charles Davenant, an acute and well informed though most unprincipled and rancorous politician, differed from King as to some of the items of the account, but came to nearly the same general conclusions.¹

¹ King's Natural and Political Conclusions. Davenant on the Balance of Trade.

The rotation of crops was very imperfectly understood. It was known, indeed, that some vegetables lately introduced into our island, particularly the turnip, afforded excellent nutriment in winter to sheep and oxen: but it was not yet the practice to feed cattle in this manner. It was therefore by no means easy to keep them alive during the season when the grass is scanty. They were killed and salted in great numbers at the beginning of the cold weather; and, during several months, even the gentry tasted scarcely any fresh animal food, except game and river fish, which were consequently much more important articles in housekeeping than at present. It appears from the Northumberland Household Book that, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, fresh meat was never eaten even by the gentlemen attendant on a great Earl, except during the short interval between Midsummer and Michaelmas. But in the course of two centuries an improvement had taken place; and under Charles the Second it was not till the beginning of November that families laid in their stock of salt provisions, then called Martinmas beef.¹

The sheep and the ox of that time were diminutive when compared with the sheep and oxen which are now driven to our markets.² Our native horses, though serviceable, were held in small esteem, and fetched low prices. They were valued, one with another, by the ablest of those who computed the national wealth, at not more than fifty shillings each. Foreign breeds were greatly preferred. Spanish jennets were regarded as the finest chargers, and were imported for purposes of pageantry and war. The coaches of the aristocracy were drawn by grey Flemish mares, which trotted, as it was thought, with

¹ See the Almanacks of 1684 and 1685.

² See Mr. McCulloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire, Part III. chap. I. sec. 6.

a peculiar grace, and endured better than any cattle reared in our island the work of dragging a ponderous equipage over the rugged pavement of London. Neither the modern dray horse nor the modern race horse was then known. At a much later period the ancestors of the gigantic quadrupeds, which all foreigners now class among the chief wonders of London, were brought from the marshes of Walcheren; the ancestors of Childers and Eclipse from the sands of Arabia. Already, however, there was among our nobility and gentry a passion for the amusements of the turf. The importance of improving our studs by an infusion of new blood was strongly felt; and with this view a considerable number of barbs had lately been brought into the country. Two men whose authority on such subjects was held in great esteem, the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Fenwick, pronounced that the meanest hack ever imported from Tangier would produce a finer progeny than could be expected from the best sire of our native breed. They would not readily have believed that a time would come when the princes and nobles of neighbouring lands would be as eager to obtain horses from England as ever the English had been to obtain horses from Barbary.¹

The increase of vegetable and animal produce, though great, seems small when compared with the increase of our mineral wealth. In 1685 the tin of Cornwall, which had, more than two thousand years before, attracted the Tyrian sails beyond the pillars of Hercules, was still one of the most valuable sub-

¹ King and Davenant as before; The Duke of Newcastle on Horsemanship; Gentleman's Recreation, 1686. The "dappled Flanders mares" were marks of greatness in the time of Pope, and even later.

The vulgar proverb, that the grey mare is the better horse, originated, I suspect, in the preference generally given to the grey mares of Flanders over the finest coach horses of England.

Mineral
Wealth

terranean productions of the island. The quantity annually extracted from the earth was found to be, some years later, sixteen hundred tons, probably about a third of what it now is.¹ But the veins of copper which lie in the same region were, in the time 5 of Charles the Second, altogether neglected, nor did any landowner take them into the account in estimating the value of his property. Cornwall and Wales at present yield annually near fifteen thousand tons of copper, worth near a million and a half sterling; 10 that is to say, worth about twice as much as the annual produce of all English mines of all descriptions in the seventeenth century.² The first bed of rock salt had been discovered in Cheshire not long after the Restoration, but does not appear to have 15 been worked till much later. The salt which was obtained by a rude process from brine pits was held in no high estimation. The pans in which the manufacture was carried on exhaled a sulphurous stench; and, when the evaporation was complete, the 20 substance which was left was scarcely fit to be used with food. Physicians attributed the scorbutic and pulmonary complaints which were common among the English to this unwholesome condiment. It was therefore seldom used by the upper and middle 25 classes; and there was a regular and considerable importation from France. At present our springs and mines not only supply our own immense demand, but send annually more than seven hundred millions of pounds of excellent salt to foreign countries.³ 30

¹ See a curious note by Tonkin, in Lord De Dunstanville's edition of Carew's Survey of Cornwall.

² Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, 1758. The quantity of copper now produced, I have taken from parliamentary returns. Davenant, in 1700, estimated the annual produce of all the mines of England at between seven and eight hundred thousand pounds.

³ Philosophical Transactions, No. 53. Nov. 1669, No. 66. Dec. 1670, No. 103. May 1674, No. 150. Feb. 1683.

Far more important has been the improvement of our iron works. Such works had long existed in our island, but had not prospered, and had been regarded with no favourable eye by the government and by the public. It was not then the practice to employ 5 coal for smelting the ore; and the rapid consumption of wood excited the alarm of politicians. As early as the reign of Elizabeth there had been loud complaints that whole forests were cut down for the purpose of feeding the furnaces; and the Parliament had 10 interfered to prohibit the manufacturers from burning timber. The manufacture consequently languished. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, great part of the iron which was used in this country was imported from abroad; and the whole quantity 15 cast here annually seems not to have exceeded ten thousand tons. At present the trade is thought to be in a depressed state if less than a million of tons are produced in a year.¹

One mineral, perhaps more important than iron 20 itself, remains to be mentioned. Coal, though very little used in any species of manufacture, was already the ordinary fuel in some districts which were fortunate enough to possess large beds, and in the capital, which could easily be supplied by water carriage. It 25 seems reasonable to believe that at least one half of the quantity then extracted from the pits was consumed in London. The consumption of London seemed to the writers of that age enormous, and was often mentioned by them as a proof of the greatness 30 of the imperial city. They scarcely hoped to be believed when they affirmed that two hundred and eighty thousand chaldrons, that is to say, about three

¹ Yarranton, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land, 1677*; Porter's *Progress of the Nation*. See also a remarkably perspicuous history, in small compass, of the English iron works, in Mr. M'Culloch's *Statistical Account of the British Empire*.

E.C.C.L.

hundred and fifty thousand tons, were, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, brought to the Thames. At present three millions and a half of tons are required yearly by the metropolis; and the whole annual produce cannot, on the most moderate computation, be estimated at less than thirty millions of tons.¹

While these great changes have been in progress, the rent of land has, as might be expected, been almost constantly rising. In some districts it has multiplied more than tenfold. In some it has not more than doubled. It has probably, on the average, quadrupled.

Of the rent, a large proportion was divided among the country gentlemen, a class of persons whose position and character it is most important that we should clearly understand; for by their influence and by their passions the fate of the nation was, at several important conjunctures, determined.

We should be much mistaken if we pictured to ourselves the squires of the seventeenth century as men bearing a close resemblance to their descendants, the county members and chairmen of quarter sessions with whom we are familiar. The modern country gentleman generally receives a liberal education, passes from a distinguished school to a distinguished college, and has ample opportunity to become an excellent scholar. He has generally seen something of foreign countries. A considerable part of his life has generally been passed in the capital; and the refinements of the capital follow him into the country. There is perhaps no class of dwellings so pleasing as

¹ See Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684, 1687; Angliae Metropolis, 1691; M'Culloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire, Part III. chap. ii. (edition of 1847). In 1845 the quantity of coal brought into London appeared, by the Parliamentary returns, to be 3,460,000 tons. (1848.) In 1854 the quantity of coal brought into London amounted to 4,378,000 tons. (1857.)

Rent

*The Country
Gentlemen*

X | the rural seats of the English gentry. In the parks and pleasure grounds, nature, dressed yet not disguised by art, wears her most alluring form. In the buildings, good sense and good taste combine to produce a happy union of the comfortable and the graceful. The pictures, the musical instruments, the library, would in any other country be considered as proving the owner to be an eminently polished and accomplished man. A country gentleman who witnessed the Revolution was probably in receipt of about a fourth part of the rent which his acres now yield to his posterity. He was, therefore, as compared with his posterity, a poor man, and was generally under the necessity of residing, with little interruption, on his estate. To travel on the Continent, to maintain an establishment in London, or even to visit London frequently, were pleasures in which only the great proprietors could indulge. It may be confidently affirmed that of the squires whose names were then in the Commissions of Peace and Lieutenantancy not one in twenty went to town once in five years, or had ever in his life wandered so far as Paris. Many lords of manors had received an education differing little from that of their menial servants. The heir of an estate often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of his family with no better tutors than grooms and gamekeepers, and scarce attained learning enough to sign his name to a *Mittimus*. If he went to school and to college, he generally returned before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old hall, and there, unless his mind were very happily constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures. His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and, on market days, made bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop merchants.

His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports and from an unrefined sensuality. His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse, were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire. He troubled himself little about decorating his abode, and, if he attempted decoration,¹⁰ seldom produced anything but deformity. The litter of a farmyard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially wel-¹⁵comed to it. But, as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies daily with claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer²⁰ consumed in those days was indeed enormous. For beer then was to the middle and lower classes, not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and ardent spirits now are. It was only at great houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was placed on the²⁵ board. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity of the afternoon was often prolonged till the revellers were³⁰ laid under the table.

It was very seldom that the country gentleman caught glimpses of the great world; and what he saw of it tended rather to confuse than to enlighten his understanding. His opinions respecting religion,³⁵ government, foreign countries and former times, having been derived, not from study, from observation,

or from conversation with enlightened companions, but from such traditions as were current in his own small circle, were the opinions of a child. He adhered to them, however, with the obstinacy which is generally found in ignorant men accustomed to be fed with 5 flattery. His animosities were numerous and bitter. He hated Frenchmen and Italians, Scotchmen and Irishmen, Papists and Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, Quakers and Jews. (Towards London and Londoners he felt an aversion which more than 10 once produced important political effects.) His wife and daughter were in tastes and acquirements below a housekeeper or a stillroom maid of the present day. They stitched and spun, brewed gooseberry wine, cured marigolds, and made the crust for the venison 15 pasty. *Sec.*

From this description it might be supposed that the English esquire of the seventeenth century did not materially differ from a rustic miller or alehouse keeper of our time. There are, however, some im- 20 portant parts of his character still to be noted, which will greatly modify this estimate. Unlettered as he was and unpolished, he was still in some most important points a gentleman. He was a member of a proud and powerful aristocracy, and was distinguished 25 by many both of the good and of the bad qualities which belong to aristocrats. His family pride was beyond that of a Talbot or a Howard. He knew the genealogies and coats of arms of all his neighbours, and could tell which of them had assumed supporters 30 without any right, and which of them were so unfortunate as to be greatgrandsons of aldermen. He was a magistrate, and, as such, administered gratuitously to those who dwelt around him a rude patriarchal justice, which, in spite of innumerable 35 blunders and of occasional acts of tyranny, was yet better than no justice at all. He was an officer of

the trainbands; and his military dignity, though it might move the mirth of gallants who had served a campaign in Flanders, raised his character in his own eyes and in the eyes of his neighbours. Nor indeed was his soldiership justly a subject of derision. In every county there were elderly gentlemen who had seen service which was no child's play. One had been knighted by Charles the First, after the battle of Edgehill. Another still wore a patch over the scar which he had received at Naseby. A third had defended his old house till Fairfax had blown in the door with a petard. The presence of these old Cavaliers, with their old swords and holsters, and with their old stories about Goring and Lunsford, gave to the musters of militia an earnest and warlike aspect which would otherwise have been wanting. Even those country gentlemen who were too young to have themselves exchanged blows with the cuirassiers of the Parliament had, from childhood, been surrounded by the traces of recent war, and fed with stories of the martial exploits of their fathers and uncles. Thus the character of the English esquire of the seventeenth century was compounded of two elements which we seldom or never find united. His ignorance and uncouthness, his low tastes and gross phrases, would, in our time, be considered as indicating a nature and a breeding thoroughly plebeian. Yet he was essentially a patrician, and had, in large measure, both the virtues and the vices which flourish among men set from their birth in high place, and used to respect themselves and to be respected by others. It is not easy for a generation accustomed to find chivalrous sentiments only in company with liberal studies and polished manners to imagine to itself a man with the deportment, the vocabulary, and the accent of a carter, yet punctilious on matters of genealogy and precedence, and ready to risk his life

rather than see a stain cast on the honour of his house. It is however only by thus joining together things seldom or never found together in our own experience, that we can form a just idea of that rustic aristocracy which constituted the main strength of the armies of Charles the First, and which long supported, with strange fidelity, the interest of his descendants.)

The gross, uneducated, untravelled country gentleman was commonly a Tory; but, though devotedly attached to hereditary monarchy, he had no partiality for courtiers and ministers. He thought, not without reason, that Whitehall was filled with the most corrupt of mankind, and that of the great sums which the House of Commons had voted to the crown since the Restoration part had been embezzled by cunning politicians, and part squandered on buffoons and foreign courtesans. His stout English heart swelled with indignation at the thought that the government of his country should be subject to French dictation. Being himself generally an old Cavalier, or the son of an old Cavalier, he reflected with bitter resentment on the ingratitude with which the Stuarts had requited their best friends. Those who heard him grumble at the neglect with which he was treated, and at the profusion with which wealth was lavished on the bastards of Nell Gwynn and Madam Carwell, would have supposed him ripe for rebellion. But all this ill humour lasted only till the throne was really in danger. (It was precisely when those whom the sovereign had loaded with wealth and honours shrank from his side that the country gentlemen, so surly and mutinous in the season of his prosperity, rallied round him in a body.) Thus, after murmuring twenty years at the misgovernment of Charles the Second, they came to his rescue in his extremity, when his own Secretaries of State and the Lords of his own Treasury

had deserted him, and enabled him to gain a complete victory over the opposition; nor can there be any doubt that they would have shown equal loyalty to his brother James, if James would, even at the last moment, have refrained from outraging their strongest feeling. For there was one institution, and one only, which they prized even more than hereditary monarchy; and that institution was the Church of England. Their love of the Church was not, indeed, the effect of study or meditation. Few among them could have given any reason, drawn from Scripture or ecclesiastical history, for adhering to her doctrines, her ritual, and her polity; nor were they, as a class, by any means strict observers of that code of morality which is common to all Christian sects. But the experience of many ages proves that men may be ready to fight to the death, and to persecute without pity, for a religion whose creed they do not understand, and whose precepts they habitually disobey.¹

The rural clergy were even more vehement in Toryism than the rural gentry, and were a class scarcely less important. It is to be observed, however, that the individual clergyman, as compared with the individual gentleman, then ranked much lower than in our days. The main support of the Church was derived from the tithe; and the tithe bore to the rent a much smaller ratio than at present. King estimated the whole income of the parochial and collegiate clergy at only four hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year; Davenant at only five hundred and forty-four thousand a year. It is certainly now more than seven times as great as the larger of these two sums. The average rent of the land has not, according to any

*The
clergy*

¹ My notion of the country gentleman of the seventeenth century has been derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated. I must leave my description to the judgment of those who have studied the history and the lighter literature of that age.

estimate, increased proportionally. It follows that the rectors and vicars must have been, as compared with the neighbouring knights and squires, much poorer in the seventeenth than in the nineteenth century.

The place of the clergyman in society had been 5 completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed the majority of the House of Lords, had, in wealth and splendour, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. 10 Many of the Treasurers, and almost all the Chancellors of the Plantagenets were Bishops. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Master of the Rolls were ordinarily churchmen. Churchmen transacted the most important diplomatic business. Indeed, all that 15 large portion of the administration which rude and warlike nobles were incompetent to conduct was considered as especially belonging to divines. Men, therefore, who were averse to the life of camps, and who were, at the same time, desirous to rise in the 20 state, commonly received the tonsure. Among them were sons of all the most illustrious families, and near kinsmen of the throne, Scroops and Nevilles, Bourchiers, Staffords, and Poles. To the religious houses belonged the rents of immense domains, and all that 25 large portion of the tithe which is now in the hands of laymen. Down to the middle of the reign of Henry the Eighth, therefore, no line of life was so attractive to ambitious and covetous natures as the priesthood. Then came a violent revolution. The abolition of the 30 monasteries deprived the Church at once of the greater part of her wealth, and of her predominance in the Upper House of Parliament. There was no longer an Abbot of Glastonbury or an Abbot of Reading seated among the peers, and possessed of revenues 35 equal to those of a powerful Earl. The princely splendour of William of Wykeham and William of

Waynflete had disappeared. The scarlet hat of the Cardinal, the silver cross of the Legate, were no more. The clergy had also lost the ascendancy which is the natural reward of superior mental cultivation. Once the circumstance that a man could read had raised a presumption that he was in orders. But, in an age which produced such laymen as William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon, Roger Ascham and Thomas Smith, Walter Mildmay and Francis Walsingham, there was no reason for calling away prelates from their dioceses to negotiate treaties, to superintend the finances, or to administer justice. The spiritual character not only ceased to be a qualification for high civil office, but began to be regarded as a disqualification. Those worldly motives, therefore, which had formerly induced so many able, aspiring, and high born youths to assume the ecclesiastical habit, ceased to operate. Not one parish in two hundred then afforded what a man of family considered as a maintenance. There were still indeed prizes in the Church: but they were few; and even the highest were mean, when compared with the glory which had once surrounded the princes of the hierarchy. The state kept by Parker and Grindal seemed beggarly to those who remembered the imperial pomp of Wolsey, his palaces, which had become the favourite abodes of royalty, Whitehall and Hampton Court, the three sumptuous tables daily spread in his refectory, the forty-four gorgeous copes in his chapel, his running footmen in rich liveries, and his body guards with gilded poleaxes. Thus the sacerdotal office lost its attraction for the higher classes. During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of noble descent took orders. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, two sons of peers were Bishops; four or five sons of peers were priests, and held valuable preferment: but these rare

1. before a long clear and bright day
the weather was

exceptions did not take away the reproach which lay on the body. The clergy were regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class.¹ And, indeed, for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants. A large proportion of those divines who had no benefices, or whose benefices were too small to afford a comfortable revenue, lived in the houses of laymen. It had long been evident that this practice tended to degrade the priestly character. Laud had exerted himself to effect a change; and Charles the First had repeatedly issued positive orders that none but men of high rank should presume to keep domestic chaplains.² But these injunctions had become obsolete. Indeed, during the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected ministers of the Church of England could obtain bread and shelter only by attaching themselves to the households of royalist gentlemen; and the habits which had been formed in those times of trouble continued long after the reestablishment of monarchy and episcopacy. In the mansions of men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, the chaplain was doubtless treated with urbanity and kindness. His conversation, his literary assistance, his spiritual advice, were considered as an ample return for his food, his lodging, and his stipend. But this was not the general feeling of the country gentlemen. The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in

¹ In the eighteenth century the great increase in the value of benefices produced a change. The younger sons of the nobility were allured back to the clerical profession. Warburton in a letter to Hurd, dated the 5th of July 1752, mentions this change, which was then recent. "Our grantees have at last found their way back into the Church. I only wonder they have been so long about it. But be assured that nothing but a new religious revolution, to sweep away the fragments that Henry the Eighth left after banqueting his courtiers, will drive them out again."

² See Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*.

an
endowed
church

full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots; and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. He was permitted to dine with the family; but he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots: but, as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.¹

Perhaps, after some years of service, he was presented to a living sufficient to support him: but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of Simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantry to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service; and it was well if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favour. Indeed, the nature of the matrimonial connections of which the clergymen of that age were in the habit of forming is the most certain indication of the place which the order held in the social system. An

¹ Eachard, Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy; Oldham, Satire addressed to a Friend about to leave the University; Tatler, 255. 258. That the English clergy were a lowborn class, is remarked in the Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo, Appendix A.

Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles the Second, complained bitterly, not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman, but that one of the lessons most earnestly inculcated 5 on every girl of honourable family was to give no encouragement to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour.¹ Clarendon, who assuredly bore no ill will to the priesthood, 10 mentions it as a sign of the confusion of ranks which the great rebellion had produced, that some damsels of noble families had bestowed themselves on divines.² A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. Queen Eliza- 15 beth, as head of the Church, had given what seemed to be a formal sanction to this prejudice, by issuing special orders that no clergyman should presume to espouse a servant girl, without the consent of the master or mistress.³ During several generations 20 accordingly the relation between divines and hand-maidens was a theme for endless jest; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook.⁴ Even so late as 25

¹ "A cauidico, medicastro, ipsaque artificum farragine, ecclesie rector aut vicarius contemnitur et fit ludibrio. Gentis et familie nitor sacris ordinibus pollutus censetur: foeminisque natalitio insignibus unicum inculcatur sepius preceptum, ne modestie naufragium faciant, aut, (quod idem auribus tam delicatulis sonat,) ne clerico se nuptus dari pariantur."—*Anglie Notitia*, by T. Wood, of New College, Oxford, 1686.

² Clarendon's *Life*, ii. 21.

³ See the *Injunctions of 1559*, in Bishop Sparrow's Collection. Jeremy Collier, in his *Essay on Pride*, speaks of this injunction with a bitterness which proves that his own pride had not been effectually tamed.

⁴ Roger and Abigail in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, Bull and the Nurse in Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, Smirk and Susan in Shadwell's *Lancashire Witches*, are instances.

the time of George the Second, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest, remarked that, in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of a lady's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.¹

In general the divine who quitted his chaplainship for a benefice and a wife found that he had only exchanged one class of vexations for another. Hardly one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holcs appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe,¹⁵ by feeding swine, and by loading dungcarts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service.² Study he found impossible: for the advow-¹⁵ son of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had

*relation
of a pasture
to his living*

¹ Swift's Directions to Servants. In Swift's Remarks on the Clerical Residence Bill, he describes the family of an English vicar thus:—"His wife is little better than a Goody, in her birth, education, or dress. . . . His daughters shall go to service, or be sent apprentice to the sempstress of the next town."

² Even in Tom Jones, published two generations later, Mrs. Seagrim, the wife of a gamekeeper, and Mrs. Honour, a waitingwoman, boast of their descent from clergymen. "It is to be hoped," says Fielding, "such instances will in future ages, when some provision is made for the families of the inferior clergy, appear stranger than they can be thought at present."

ten or twelve dogeared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust in so unfavourable a situation.

Assuredly there was at that time no lack in the English Church of ministers distinguished by abilities and learning. But it is to be observed that these ministers were not scattered among the rural population. They were brought together at a few places where the means of acquiring knowledge were abundant, and where the opportunities of vigorous intellectual exercises were frequent.¹ At such places were to be found divines qualified by parts, by eloquence, by wide knowledge of literature, of science, and of life, to defend their Church victoriously against heretics and sceptics, to command the attention of frivolous and worldly congregations, to guide the deliberations of senates, and to make religion respectable, even in the most dissolute of courts. Some laboured to fathom the abysses of metaphysical theology: some were deeply versed in biblical criticism; and some threw light on the darkest parts of ecclesiastical history. Some proved themselves consummate masters of logic. Some cultivated rhetoric with such assiduity and success that their discourses are still justly valued as models of style. These eminent men were to be found, with scarcely a single exception, at the Universities, at the great Cathedrals, or in the capital. Barrow had lately died at Cambridge; and Pearson had gone thence to the episcopal bench. Cudworth and Henry More were still living there. South and Pococke, Jane and Aldrich, were at Oxford, Prideaux was in the close of Norwich, and Whitby in the close of Salisbury. But it was chiefly

¹ This distinction between country clergy and town clergy is strongly marked by Eachard, and cannot but be observed by every person who has studied the ecclesiastical history of that age.

by the London clergy, who were always spoken of as a class apart, that the fame of their profession for learning and eloquence was upheld. The principal pulpits of the metropolis were occupied about this time by a crowd of distinguished men, from among 5 whom was selected a large proportion of the rulers of the Church. Sherlock preached at the Temple, Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn, Wake and Jeremy Collier at Gray's Inn, Burnet at the Rolls, Stillingleet at Saint Paul's Cathedral, Patrick at Saint Paul's in 10 Covent Garden, Fowler at Saint Giles's, Cripplegate, Sharp at Saint Giles's in the Fields, Tenison at Saint Martin's, Sprat at Saint Margaret's, Beveridge at Saint Peter's in Cornhill. Of these twelve men, all of high note in ecclesiastical history, ten became Bishops, 15 and four Archbishops. Meanwhile almost the only important theological works which came forth from a rural parsonage were those of George Bull, afterwards Bishop of Saint David's; and Bull never would have produced those works, had he not inherited an 20 estate, by the sale of which he was enabled to collect a library, such as probably no other country clergyman in England possessed.¹

Thus the Anglican priesthood was divided into two sections, which, in acquirements, in manners, and 25 in social position, differed widely from each other. One section, trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning; men able to encounter Hobbes or Bossuet at all the weapons of controversy; men who could, in their ser- 30 mons, set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianity with such justness of thought, and such energy of language, that the indolent Charles roused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to

¹ Nelson's Life of Bull. As to the extreme difficulty which the country clergy found in procuring books, see the Life of Thomas Bray, the founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

sneer ; men whose address, politeness, and knowledge of the world qualified them to manage the consciences of the wealthy and noble ; men with whom Halifax loved to discuss the interests of empires, and from whom Dryden was not ashamed to own that he had learned to write.¹ The other section was destined to ruder and humbler service. It was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants. Yet it was in these rustic priests, who derived but a scanty subsistence from their tithe sheaves and tithe pigs, and who had not the smallest chance of ever attaining high professional honours, that the professional spirit was strongest. Among those divines who were the boast of the Universities and the delight of the capital, and who had attained, or might reasonably expect to attain, opulence and lordly rank, a party, respectable in numbers, and more respectable in character, leaned towards constitutional principles of government, lived on friendly terms with Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, would gladly have seen a full toleration granted to all Protestant sects, and would even have consented to make alterations in the Liturgy, for the purpose of conciliating honest and candid Nonconformists. But such latitudinarianism was held in horror by the country parson. He took, indeed, more pride in his ragged gown than his superiors in their lawn and their scarlet hoods. (The very consciousness that there was little in his worldly circumstances to distinguish him from the villagers to whom he preached led him to hold immoderately high the dignity of that sacerdotal office which was his single

¹ "I have frequently heard him (Dryden) own with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English prose it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson."—Congreve's *Dedication of Dryden's Plays*.

title to reverence.) Having lived in seclusion, and having had little opportunity of correcting his opinions by reading or conversation, he held and taught the doctrines of indefeasible hereditary right, of passive obedience, and of non-resistance, in all their crude 5 absurdity. Having been long engaged in a petty war against the neighbouring dissenters, he too often hated them for the wrong which he had done them, and found no fault with the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act, except that those odious laws had 10 not a sharper edge. Whatever influence his office gave him was exerted with passionate zeal on the Tory side; and that influence was immense. It would be a great error to imagine, because the country rector was in general not regarded as a gentleman, 15 because he could not dare to aspire to the hand of one of the young ladies at the manor house, because he was not asked into the parlours of the great, but was left to drink and smoke with grooms and butlers, that the power of the clerical body was smaller than 20 at present. (The influence of a class is by no means proportioned to the consideration which the members of that class enjoy in their individual capacity.) A Cardinal is a much more exalted personage than a begging friar: but it would be a grievous mistake 25 to suppose that the College of Cardinals has exercised a greater dominion over the public mind of Europe than the Order of Saint Francis. In Ireland, at present, a peer holds a far higher station in society than a Roman Catholic priest: yet there are in 30 Munster and Connaught few counties where a combination of priests would not carry an election against a combination of peers. In the seventeenth century the pulpit was to a large portion of the population what the periodical press now is. Scarce any of 35 the clowns who came to the parish church ever saw a Gazette or a political pamphlet. Ill informed as

their spiritual pastor might be, he was yet better informed than themselves: he had every week an opportunity of haranguing them; and his harangues were never answered. At every important conjuncture, invectives against the Whigs and exhortations to obey the Lord's anointed resounded at once from many thousands of pulpits; and the effect was formidable indeed. Of all the causes which, after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, produced the violent reaction against the Exclusionists, the most potent seems to have been the oratory of the country clergy.

The yeomanry
The power which the country gentleman and the country clergyman exercised in the rural districts was in some measure counterbalanced by the power of the yeomanry, an eminently manly and truehearted race. The petty proprietors who cultivated their own fields with their own hands, and enjoyed a modest competence, without affecting to have scutcheons and crests, or aspiring to sit on the bench of justice, then formed a much more important part of the nation than at present. If we may trust the best statistical writers of that age, not less than a hundred and sixty thousand proprietors, who with their families must have made up more than a seventh of the whole population, derived their subsistence from little freehold estates. The average income of these small landholders, an income made up of rent, profit, and wages, was estimated at between sixty and seventy pounds a year. It was computed that the number of persons who tilled their own land was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others.¹ A large portion of the yeomanry had, from the time of the Reformation, leaned towards Puritanism, had, in the civil war, taken the side of the Parliament, had,

¹ I have taken Davenant's estimate, which is a little lower than King's.

after the Restoration, persisted in hearing Presbyterian and Independent preachers, had, at elections, strenuously supported the Exclusionists, and had continued, even after the discovery of the Rye House plot and the proscription of the Whig leaders, to regard Popery and arbitrary power with unmitigated hostility.

Great as has been the change in the rural life of England since the Revolution, the change which has come to pass in the cities is still more amazing. At present above a sixth part of the nation is crowded into provincial towns of more than thirty thousand inhabitants. In the reign of Charles the Second no provincial town in the kingdom contained thirty thousand inhabitants; and only four provincial towns contained so many as ten thousand inhabitants.

Next to the capital, but next at an immense distance, stood Bristol, then the first English seaport, and Norwich, then the first English manufacturing town. Both have since that time been far outstripped by younger rivals; yet both have made great positive advances. The population of Bristol has quadrupled. The population of Norwich has more than doubled.

Pepys, who visited Bristol eight years after the Restoration, was struck by the splendour of the city. But his standard was not high; for he noted down as a wonder the circumstance that, in Bristol, a man might look round him and see nothing but houses. It seems that, in no other place with which he was acquainted, except London, did the buildings completely shut out the woods and fields. Large as Bristol might then appear, it occupied but a very small portion of the area on which it now stands. A few churches of eminent beauty rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes built upon vaults of great solidity. If a coach or a cart entered those alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged

*Print of
Towns*

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between the houses, and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks drawn by dogs ; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by 5 walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer. The pomp of the christenings and burials far exceeded what was seen at any other place in England. The hospitality of the city was widely 10 renowned, and especially the collations with which the sugar refiners regaled their visitors. The repast was dressed in the furnace, and was accompanied by a rich beverage made of the best Spanish wine, and celebrated over the whole kingdom as Bristol milk. 15 This luxury was supported by a thriving trade with the North American plantations and with the West Indies. The passion for colonial traffic was so strong that there was scarcely a small shopkeeper in Bristol who had not a venture on board of some ship bound 20 for Virginia or the Antilles. Some of these ventures indeed were not of the most honourable kind. There was, in the Transatlantic possessions of the crown, a great demand for labour ; and this demand was partly supplied by a system of crimping and kid- 25 napping at the principal English seaports. Nowhere was this system in such active and extensive operation as at Bristol. Even the first magistrates of that city were not ashamed to enrich themselves by so odious a commerce. The number of houses appears, 30 from the returns of the hearth money, to have been in the year 1685, just five thousand three hundred. We can hardly suppose the number of persons in a house to have been greater than in the city of London ; and in the city of London we learn from 35 the best authority that there were then fifty-five persons to ten houses. The population of Bristol

must therefore have been about twenty-nine thousand souls.¹

Norwich was the capital of a large and fruitful province. It was the residence of a Bishop and of a Chapter. It was the chief seat of the chief manufacture of the realm. Some men distinguished by learning and science had recently dwelt there; and no place in the kingdom, except the capital and the Universities, had more attractions for the curious. The library, the museum, the aviary, and the botanical garden of Sir Thomas Browne, were thought by Fellows of the Royal Society well worthy of a long pilgrimage. Norwich had also a court in miniature. In the heart of the city stood an old palace of the Dukes of Norfolk, said to be the largest town house in the kingdom out of London. In this mansion, to which were annexed a tennis court, a bowling green, and a wilderness stretching along the banks of the Wansum, the noble family of Howard frequently resided, and kept a state resembling that of petty sovereigns. Drink was served to guests in goblets of pure gold. The very tongs and shovels were of silver. Pictures by Italian masters adorned the walls. The cabinets were filled with a fine collection of gems purchased by that Earl of Arundel whose marbles are now among the ornaments of Oxford. Here, in the year 1671, Charles and his court were sumptuously entertained. Here, too, all comers were

¹ Evelyn's Diary, June 27. 1654; Pepys's Diary, June 13. 1668; Roger North's Lives of Lord Keeper Guildford, and of Sir Dudley North; Petty's Political Arithmetic. I have taken Petty's facts, but, in drawing inferences from them, I have been guided by King and Davenant, who, though not abler men than he, had the advantage of coming after him. As to the kidnapping for which Bristol was infamous, see North's Life of Guildford, 121. 216., and the harangue of Jeffreys on the subject, in the Impartial History of his Life and Death, printed with the Bloody Assizes. His style was, as usual, coarse; but I cannot reckon the reprimand which he gave to the magistrates of Bristol among his crimes.

annually welcomed, from Christmas to Twelfth Night. Ale flowed in oceans for the populace. Three coaches, one of which had been built at a cost of five hundred pounds to contain fourteen persons, were sent every afternoon round the city to bring 5 ladies to the festivities ; and the dances were always followed by a luxurious banquet. When the Duke of Norfolk came to Norwich, he was greeted like a King returning to his capital. The bells of the Cathedral and of St. Peter Mancroft were rung : the 10 guns of the castle were fired ; and the Mayor and Aldermen waited on their illustrious fellow citizen with complimentary addresses. In the year 1693 the population of Norwich was found by actual enumeration to be between twenty-eight and twenty-nine 15 thousand souls.¹

Far below Norwich, but still high in dignity and importance, were some other ancient capitals of shires. In that age it was seldom that a country gentleman went up with his family to London. The 20 county town was his metropolis. He sometimes made it his residence during part of the year. At all events, he was often attracted thither by business and pleasure, by assizes, quarter sessions, elections, musters of militia, festivals, and races. There were 25 the halls where the judges, robed in scarlet and escorted by javelins and trumpets, opened the King's commission twice a year. There were the markets at which the corn, the cattle, the wool, and the hops of the surrounding country were exposed to sale. 30 There were the great fairs to which merchants came down from London, and where the rural dealer laid in his annual stores of sugar, stationery, cutlery, and

¹ Fuller's Worthies ; Evelyn's Diary, Oct. 17. 1671 ; Journal of T. Browne, son of Sir Thomas Browne, Jan. 1663 ; Blomefield's History of Norfolk ; History of the City and County of Norwich, 2 vols. 1768.

muslin. There were the shops at which the best families of the neighbourhood bought grocery and millinery. Some of these places derived dignity from interesting historical recollections, from cathedrals decorated by all the art and magnificence of the middle ages, from palaces where a long succession of prelates had dwelt, from closes surrounded by the venerable abodes of deans and canons, and from castles which had in the old time repelled the Nevilles or de Veres, and which bore more recent traces of the vengeance of Rupert or of Cromwell.

Conspicuous amongst these interesting cities were York, the capital of the north, and Exeter, the capital of the west. Neither can have contained much more than ten thousand inhabitants. Worcester, the queen of the cider land, had but eight thousand; Nottingham probably as many. Gloucester, renowned for that resolute defence which had been fatal to Charles the First, had certainly between four and five thousand; Derby not quite four thousand. Shrewsbury was the chief place of an extensive and fertile district. The Court of the Marches of Wales was held there. In the language of the gentry many miles round the Wrekin, to go to Shrewsbury was to go to town. The provincial wits and beauties imitated, as well as they could, the fashions of Saint James's Park, in the walks along the side of the Severn. The inhabitants were about seven thousand.¹

¹ The population of York appears, from the return of baptisms and burials, in Drake's History, to have been about 13,000 in 1730. Exeter had only 17,000 inhabitants in 1801. The population of Worcester was numbered just before the siege in 1646. See Nash's History of Worcestershire. I have made allowance for the increase which must be supposed to have taken place in forty years. In 1740, the population of Nottingham was found, by enumeration, to be just 10,000. See Dering's History. The population of Gloucester may readily be inferred from the number of houses which King found in the returns of hearth money, and from the number of births and burials which is given in Atkyns's History. The population of Derby was

other towns

The population of every one of these places has, since the Revolution, much more than doubled. The population of some has multiplied sevenfold. The streets have been almost entirely rebuilt. Slate has succeeded to thatch, and brick to timber. The pavements and the lamps, the display of wealth in the principal shops, and the luxurious neatness of the dwellings occupied by the gentry would, in the seventeenth century, have seemed miraculous. Yet is the relative importance of the old capitals of 10 counties by no means what it was. Younger towns, towns which are rarely or never mentioned in our early history and which sent no representatives to our early Parliaments, have, within the memory of persons still living, grown to a greatness which this 15 generation contemplates with wonder and pride, not unaccompanied by awe and anxiety.

Manchester The most eminent of these towns were indeed known in the seventeenth century as respectable seats of industry. Nay, their rapid progress and 20 their vast opulence were then sometimes described in language which seems ludicrous to a man who has seen their present grandeur. One of the most populous and prosperous among them was Manchester. Manchester had been required by the Protector to 25 send one representative to his Parliament, and was mentioned by writers of the time of Charles the Second as a busy and opulent place. Cotton had, during half a century, been brought thither from Cyprus and Smyrna; but the manufacture was in its 30 infancy. Whitney had not yet taught how the raw material might be furnished in quantities almost fabulous. Arkwright had not yet taught how it

4,000 in 1712. See Wolley's MS. History, quoted in Lyson's *Magna Britannia*. The population of Shrewsbury was ascertained, in 1695, by actual enumeration. As to the gaieties of Shrewsbury, see Farquhar's Recruiting Officer. Farquhar's description is borne out by a ballad in the Pepysian Library, of which the burden is "Shrewsbury for me."

might be worked up with a speed and precision which seem magical. The whole annual import did not, at the end of the seventeenth century, amount to two millions of pounds, a quantity which would now hardly supply the demand of forty-eight hours. That wonderful emporium, which in population and wealth far surpasses capitals so much renowned as Berlin, Madrid, and Lisbon, was then a mean and ill built market town, containing under six thousand people. It then had not a single press. It now supports a hundred printing establishments. It then had not a single coach. It now supports twenty coachmakers.

Leeds was already the chief seat of the woollen manufactures of Yorkshire: but the elderly inhabitants could still remember the time when the first brick house, then and long after called the Red House, was built. They boasted loudly of their increasing wealth, and of the immense sales of cloth which took place in the open air on the bridge. Hundreds, nay thousands of pounds, had been paid down in the course of one busy market day. The rising importance of Leeds had attracted the notice of successive governments. Charles the First had granted municipal privileges to the town. Oliver had invited it to send one member to the House of Commons. But from the returns of the hearth money it seems certain that the whole population of the borough, an extensive district which contains many hamlets, did not, in the reign of Charles the Second, exceed seven thousand souls. In 1841 there were more than a hundred and fifty thousand.²

¹ Blome's *Britannia*, 1673; Aikin's *Country round Manchester*; *Manchester Directory*, 1845; Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*. The best information which I have been able to find, touching the population of Manchester in the seventeenth century, is contained in a paper drawn up by the Reverend R. Parkinson, and published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* for October 1842.

² Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodensis*; Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete*;

Sheffield About a day's journey south of Leeds, on the verge of a wild moorland tract, lay an ancient manor, now rich with cultivation, then barren and unenclosed, which was known by the name of Hallamshire. Iron abounded there; and, from a very early period, the rude whittles fabricated there had been sold all over the kingdom. They had indeed been mentioned by Geoffrey Chaucer in one of his Canterbury Tales. But the manufacture appears to have made little progress during the three centuries which followed his time. This languor may perhaps be explained by the fact that the trade was, during almost the whole of this long period, subject to such regulations as the lord and his court leet thought fit to impose. The more delicate kinds of cutlery were either made in the capital, or brought from the Continent. Indeed it was not till the reign of George the First that the English surgeons ceased to import from France those exquisitely fine blades which are required for operations on the human frame. Most of the Hallamshire forges were collected in a market town which had sprung up near the castle of the proprietor, and which, in the reign of James the First, had been a singularly miserable place, containing about two thousand inhabitants, of whom a third were half starved and half naked beggars. It seems certain from the parochial registers that the population did not amount to four thousand at the end of the reign of Charles the Second. The effects of a species of toil singularly unfavourable to the health and vigour of the human frame were at once discerned by every traveller. A large proportion of the people had distorted limbs. This is that Sheffield which now, with its dependencies, contains a hundred and twenty thousand souls, and which sends forth its

Wardell's Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds. (1848.) In 1851 Leeds had 172,000 inhabitants. (1857.)

admirable knives, razors, and lancets to the farthest ends of the world.¹

Birmingham had not been thought of sufficient importance to return a member to Oliver's Parliament. Yet the manufacturers of Birmingham were already a busy and thriving race. They boasted that their hardware was highly esteemed, not indeed as now, at Pekin and Lima, at Bokhara and Timbuctoo, but in London, and even as far off as Ireland. They had acquired a less honourable renown as coiners of bad money. In allusion to their spurious groats, some Tory wit had fixed on demagogues, who hypocritically affected zeal against Popery, the nickname of Birminghams. Yet in 1685 the population, which is now little less than two hundred thousand, did not amount to four thousand. Birmingham buttons were just beginning to be known: of Birmingham guns nobody had yet heard; and the place whence, two generations later, the magnificent editions of Baskerville went forth to astonish all the librarians of Europe, did not contain a single regular shop where a Bible or an almanack could be bought. On Market days a bookseller named Michael Johnson, the father of the great Samuel Johnson, came over from Lichfield, and opened a stall during a few hours. This supply of literature was long found equal to the demand.²

These four chief seats of our great manufactures

¹ Hunter's History of Hallamshire. (1848.) In 1851 the population of Sheffield had increased to 135,000. (1857.)

² Blome's Britannia, 1673; Dugdale's Warwickshire; North's Examen, 321.; Preface to Absalom and Achitophel; Hutton's History of Birmingham; Boswell's Life of Johnson. In 1690 the burials at Birmingham were 150, the baptisms 125. I think it probable that the annual mortality was little less than one in twenty-five. In London it was considerably greater. A historian of Nottingham, half a century later, boasted of the extraordinary salubrity of his town, where the annual mortality was one in thirty. See Dering's History of Nottingham. (1848.) In 1851 the population of Birmingham had increased to 232,000. (1857.)

Liverpool deserve especial mention. It would be tedious to enumerate all the populous and opulent hives of industry which, a hundred and fifty years ago, were hamlets without parish churches, or desolate moors, inhabited only by grouse and wild deer. Nor has 5 the change been less signal in those outlets by which the products of the English looms and forges are poured forth over the whole world. At present Liverpool contains more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. The shipping registered at 10 her port amounts to between four and five hundred thousand tons. Into her custom house has been repeatedly paid in one year a sum more than thrice as great as the whole income of the English crown in 1685. The receipts of her post office, even since the 15 great reduction of the duty, exceed the sum which the postage of the whole kingdom yielded to the Duke of York. Her endless docks, quays, and warehouses are among the wonders of the world. Yet even those docks and quays and warehouses seem hardly 20 to suffice for the gigantic trade of the Mersey; and already a rival city is growing fast on the opposite shore. In the days of Charles the Second Liverpool was described as a rising town which had recently made great advances, and which maintained a 25 profitable intercourse with Ireland and with the sugar colonies. The customs had multiplied eight-fold within sixteen years, and amounted to what was then considered as the immense sum of fifteen thousand pounds annually. But the population can hardly 30 have exceeded four thousand: the shipping was about fourteen hundred tons, less than the tonnage of a single modern Indiaman of the first class; and the whole number of seamen belonging to the port cannot be estimated at more than two hundred.¹ 35

¹ Blome's *Britannia*; Gregson's *Antiquities of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, Part II.; Petition from Liverpool in the

Watering
Places

Such has been the progress of those towns where wealth is created and accumulated. Not less rapid has been the progress of towns of a very different kind, towns in which wealth, created and accumulated elsewhere, is expended for purposes of health and recreation. Some of the most remarkable of these gay places have sprung into existence since the time of the Stuarts. Cheltenham is now a greater city than any which the kingdom contained in the seventeenth century, London alone excepted. But in the eighteenth century, and at the beginning of the eighteenth, Cheltenham was mentioned by local historians merely as a rural parish lying under the Cotswold Hills, and affording good ground both for tillage and pasture. Corn grew and cattle browsed over the space now covered by that long succession of streets and villas.¹ Brighton was described as a place which had once been thriving, which had possessed many small fishing barks, and which had, when at the height of prosperity, contained above two thousand inhabitants, but which was sinking fast into decay. The sea was gradually gaining on the buildings, which at length almost entirely disappeared. Ninety years ago the ruins of an old fort were to be seen lying among the pebbles and seaweed on the beach; and ancient men could still point out the traces of foundations on a spot where a street of more than a hundred huts had been swallowed up by the waves. So desolate was the place after this calamity, that the vicarage was thought scarcely worth having. A few poor fishermen, however, still continued to dry their nets on those cliffs, on which now a town, more than twice as large and populous as the

Privy Council Book, May 10. 1686. In 1690 the burials at Liverpool were 151, the baptisms 120. In 1844 the net receipt of the customs at Liverpool was 4,365,526*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* (1848.) In 1851 Liverpool contained 375,000 inhabitants. (1857.)

¹ Atkyns's Gloucestershire.

Bristol of the Stuarts, presents, mile after mile, its gay and fantastic front to the sea.¹

England, however, was not, in the seventeenth century, destitute of watering places. The gentry of Derbyshire and of the neighbouring counties repaired to Buxton, where they were lodged in low rooms under bare rafters, and regaled with oatcake, and with a viand which the hosts called mutton, but which the guests suspected to be dog. A single good house stood near the spring.² Tunbridge Wells, lying within a day's journey of the capital, and in one of the richest and most highly civilised parts of the kingdom, had much greater attractions. At present we see there a town which would, a hundred and sixty years ago, have ranked, in population, fourth or fifth among the towns of England. The brilliancy of the shops and the luxury of the private dwellings far surpasses anything that England could then show. When the court, soon after the Restoration, visited Tunbridge Wells, there was no town: but, within a mile of the spring, rustic cottages, somewhat cleaner and neater than the ordinary cottages of that time, were scattered over the heath. Some of these cabins were movable, and were carried on sledges from one part of the common to another. To these huts men of fashion, wearied with the din and smoke of London, sometimes came in the summer to breathe fresh air, and to catch a glimpse of rural life. During the season a kind of fair was daily held near the fountain. The wives and daughters of the Kentish farmers came from the neighbouring villages with cream, cherries, wheatears, and quails. To chaffer with them, to flirt with them, to praise their straw hats and tight heels, was a

¹ *Magna Britannia*; Grose's *Antiquities*; New Brighthelmstone Directory, 1770.

² *Tour in Derbyshire*, by Thomas Browne, son of Sir Thomas.

refreshing pastime to voluptuaries sick of the airs of actresses and maids of honour. Milliners, toymen, and jewellers came down from London, and opened a bazaar under the trees. In one booth the politician might find his coffee and the London Gazette; in 5 another were gamblers playing deep at basset; and, on fine evenings, the fiddles were in attendance, and there were morris dances on the elastic turf of the bowling green. In 1685 a subscription had just been raised among those who frequented the wells 10 for building a church, which the Tories, who then domineered everywhere, insisted on dedicating to Saint Charles the Martyr.¹

But at the head of the English watering places, without a rival, was Bath. The springs of that city 15 had been renowned from the days of the Romans. It had been, during many centuries, the seat of a Bishop. The sick repaired thither from every part of the realm. The King sometimes held his court there. Nevertheless, Bath was then a maze of only 20 four or five hundred houses, crowded within an old wall in the vicinity of the Avon. Pictures of what were considered as the finest of those houses are still extant, and greatly resemble the lowest rag shops and pothouses of Ratcliffe Highway. Travellers 25 indeed complained loudly of the narrowness and meanness of the streets. That beautiful city which charms even eyes familiar with the masterpieces of Bramante and Palladio, and which the genius of Anstey and of Smollètt, of Frances Burney and 30 of Jane Austen, has made classic ground, had not begun to exist. Milsom Street itself was an open field lying far beyond the walls; and hedgerows intersected the space which is now covered by the

¹ Mémoires de Grammont; Hasted's History of Kent; Tunbridge Wells, a Comedy, 1678; Causton's Tunbridgialia, 1688; Metellus, a poem on Tunbridge Wells, 1693.

Crescent and the Circus. The poor patients to whom the waters had been recommended lay on straw in a place which, to use the language of a contemporary physician, was a covert rather than a lodging. As to the comforts and luxuries which were to be found in the interior of the houses of Bath by the fashionable visitors who resorted thither in search of health or amusement, we possess information more complete and minute than can generally be obtained on such subjects. A writer who published an account of that city about sixty years after the Revolution has accurately described the changes which had taken place within his own recollection. He assures us that, in his younger days, the gentlemen who visited the springs slept in rooms hardly as good as the garrets which he lived to see occupied by footmen. The floors of the dining rooms were uncarpeted, and were coloured brown with a wash made of soot and small beer, in order to hide the dirt. Not a wainscot was painted. Not a hearth or a chimneypiece was of marble. A slab of common freestone and fire irons which had cost from three to four shillings were thought sufficient for any fireplace. The best apartments were hung with coarse woollen stuff, and were furnished with rushbottomed chairs. Readers who take an interest in the progress of civilisation and of the useful arts will be grateful to the humble topographer who has recorded these facts, and will perhaps wish that historians of far higher pretensions had sometimes spared a few pages from military evolutions and political intrigues, for the purpose of letting us know how the parlours and bedchambers of our ancestors looked.¹

¹ See Wood's History of Bath, 1749; Evelyn's Diary, June 27. 1654; Pepys's Diary, June 12. 1668; Stukely's Itinerarium Curiosum; Collinson's Somersetshire; Dr. Peirce's History and Memoirs of the Bath, 1713, Book I. chap. viii. obs. 2. 1684. I have consulted several old maps and pictures of Bath, particularly one curious

London.

The position of London, relatively to the other towns of the empire, was, in the time of Charles the Second, far higher than at present. For at present the population of London is little more than six times the population of Manchester or of Liverpool. 5 In the days of Charles the Second the population of London was more than seventeen times the population of Bristol or of Norwich. It may be doubted whether any other instance can be mentioned of a great kingdom in which the first city was more 10 than seventeen times as large as the second. There is reason to believe that, in 1685, London had been, during about half a century, the most populous capital in Europe. The inhabitants, who are now at least nineteen hundred thousand, were then probably 15 little more than half a million.¹ London had in the world only one commercial rival, now long ago outstripped, the mighty and opulent Amsterdam. English writers boasted of the forest of masts and yardarms which covered the river from the Bridge to 20 the Tower, and of the stupendous sums which were collected at the Custom House in Thames Street. There is, indeed, no doubt that the trade of the metropolis then bore a far greater proportion than at present to the whole trade of the country; yet to our 25 generation the honest vaunting of our ancestors must appear almost ludicrous. The shipping which they thought incredibly great appears not to have exceeded seventy thousand tons. This was, indeed, then more than a third of the whole tonnage of the kingdom, 30 but is now less than a fourth of the tonnage of Newcastle, and is nearly equalled by the tonnage of the steam vessels of the Thames. The customs

map which is surrounded by views of the principal buildings. It bears the date of 1717.

¹ According to King 530,000. (1848.) In 1851 the population of London exceeded 2,300,000. (1857.)

of London amounted, in 1685, to about three hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year. In our time the net duty paid annually, at the same place, exceeds ten millions.¹

Whoever examines the maps of London which were published towards the close of the reign of Charles the Second will see that only the nucleus of the present capital then existed. The town did not, as now, fade by imperceptible degrees into the country. No long avenues of villas, embowered in lilacs and laburnums, extended from the great centre of wealth and civilisation almost to the boundaries of Middlesex and far into the heart of Kent and Surrey. In the east, no part of the immense line of warehouses and artificial lakes which now stretches from the Tower to Blackwall had even been projected. On the west, scarcely one of those stately piles of building which are inhabited by the noble and wealthy was in existence; and Chelsea, which is now peopled by more than forty thousand human beings, was a quiet country village with about a thousand inhabitants.² On the north, cattle fed, and sportsmen wandered with dogs and guns, over the site of the borough of Marylebone, and over far the greater part of the space now covered by the boroughs of Finsbury and of the Tower Hamlets. Islington was almost a solitude; and poets loved to contrast its silence and repose with the din and turmoil of the monster London.³ On the south the capital is now connected with its suburb by several

¹ Macpherson's History of Commerce; Chalmers's Estimate; Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684. The tonnage of the steamers belonging to the port of London was, at the end of 1847, about 60,000 tons. The customs of the port, from 1842 to 1845, very nearly averaged 11,000,000*l.* (1848.) In 1854 the tonnage of the steamers of the port of London amounted to 138,000 tons, without reckoning vessels of less than fifty tons. (1857.)

² Lyson's Environs of London. The baptisms at Chelsea, between 1680 and 1690, were only 42 a year.

³ Cowley, Discourse of Solitude.

bridges, not inferior in magnificence and solidity to the noblest works of the Cæsars. In 1685, a single line of irregular arches, overhung by piles of mean and crazy houses, and garnished, after a fashion worthy of the naked barbarians of Dahomy, with scores of mouldering heads, impeded the navigation of the river.

Of the metropolis, the City, properly so called, was the most important division. At the time of the Restoration it had been built, for the most part, of wood and plaster; the few bricks that were used were ill baked; the booths where goods were exposed to sale projected far into the streets, and were overhung by the upper stories. A few specimens of this architecture may still be seen in those districts which were not reached by the great fire. That fire had, in a few days, covered a space of little less than a square mile with the ruins of eighty-nine churches and of thirteen thousand houses. But the City had risen again with a celerity which had excited the admiration of neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, the old lines of the streets had been to a great extent preserved; and those lines, originally traced in an age when even princesses performed their journeys on horseback, were often too narrow to allow wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease, and were therefore ill adapted for the residence of wealthy persons in an age when a coach and six was a fashionable luxury. The style of building was, however, far superior to that of the City which had perished. The ordinary material was brick, of much better quality than had formerly been used. On the sites of the ancient parish churches had arisen a multitude of new domes, towers, and spires which bore the mark of the fertile genius of Wren. In every place save one the traces of the great devastation had been completely effaced. But the crowds of workmen, the scaffolds, and the masses of

*Temporary abutment of the
bridge over the river*

hewn stone were still to be seen where the noblest of Protestant temples was slowly rising on the ruins of the old Cathedral of Saint Paul.¹

The whole character of the City has, since that time, undergone a complete change. At present the bankers, the merchants, and the chief shopkeepers repair thither on six mornings of every week for the transaction of business: but they reside in other quarters of the metropolis, or at suburban country seats surrounded by shrubberies and flower gardens.¹⁰ This revolution in private habits has produced a political revolution of no small importance. The City is no longer regarded by the wealthiest traders with that attachment which every man naturally feels for his home. It is no longer associated in their minds¹⁵ with domestic affections and endearments. The fire-side, the nursery, the social table, the quiet bed are not there. Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street are merely places where men toil and accumulate. They go elsewhere to enjoy and to expend. On a²⁰ Sunday, or in an evening after the hours of business, some courts and alleys, which a few hours before had been alive with hurrying feet and anxious faces, are as silent as the glades of a forest. The chiefs of the mercantile interest are no longer citizens. They avoid,²⁵ they almost contemn, municipal honours and duties. Those honours and duties are abandoned to men who, though useful and highly respectable, seldom belong to the princely commercial houses of which the names are renowned throughout the world.³⁰

¹ The fullest and most trustworthy information about the state of the buildings of London at this time is to be derived from the maps and drawings in the British Museum and in the Pepysian Library. The badness of the bricks in the old buildings of London is particularly mentioned in the Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo. There is an account of the works at Saint Paul's in Ward's London Spy. I am almost ashamed to quote such nauseous balderdash; but I have been forced to descend even lower, if possible, in search of materials.

In the seventeenth century the City was the merchant's residence. Those mansions of the great old burghers which still exist have been turned into counting houses and warehouses: but it is evident that they were originally not inferior in magnificence to the dwellings which were then inhabited by the nobility. They sometimes stand in retired and gloomy courts, and are accessible only by inconvenient passages: but their dimensions are ample, and their aspect stately. The entrances are decorated with richly carved pillars and canopies. The staircases and landing places are not wanting in grandeur. The floors are sometimes of wood, tessellated after the fashion of France. The palace of Sir Robert Clayton, in the Old Jewry, contained a superb banquetting room wainscoted with cedar, and adorned with battles of gods and giants in fresco.¹ Sir Dudley North expended four thousand pounds, a sum which would then have been important to a Duke, on the rich furniture of his reception rooms in Basinghall Street.² In such abodes, under the last Stuarts, the heads of the great firms lived splendidly and hospitably. To their dwelling place they were bound by the strongest ties of interest and affection. There they had passed their youth, had made their friendships, had courted their wives, had seen their children grow up, had laid the remains of their parents in the earth, and expected that their own remains would be laid. That intense patriotism which is peculiar to the members of societies congregated within a narrow space was, in such circumstances, strongly developed. London was, to the Londoner, what Athens was to the Athenian of the age of Pericles, what Florence was to the Florentine of the fifteenth century. The citizen was proud of the grandeur of his city, punctilious about her

¹ Evelyn's Diary, Sept. 20. 1672.

² Roger North's Life of Sir Dudley North.

claims to respect, ambitious of her offices, and zealous for her franchises.

At the close of the reign of Charles the Second the pride of the Londoners was smarting from a cruel mortification. The old charter had been taken away; 5 and the magistracy had been remodelled. All the civic functionaries were Tories: and the Whigs, though in numbers and in wealth superior to their opponents, found themselves excluded from every local dignity. Nevertheless, the external splendour 10 of the municipal government was not diminished, nay, was rather increased by this change. For, under the administration of some Puritans who had lately borne rule, the ancient fame of the City for good cheer had declined: but under the new magistrates, who belonged 15 to a more festive party, and at whose boards guests of rank and fashion from beyond Temple Bar were often seen, the Guildhall and the halls of the great companies were enlivened by many sumptuous banquets. During these repasts, odes composed by the poet, 20 laureate of the corporation, in praise of the King, the Duke, and the Mayor, were sung to music. The drinking was deep, the shouting loud. An observant Tory, who had often shared in these revels, has remarked that the practice of huzzaing after drinking 25 healths dates from this joyous period.¹

The magnificence displayed by the first civic magistrate was almost regal. The gilded coach, indeed, which is now annually admired by the crowd, was not yet a part of his state. On great occasions 30 he appeared on horseback, attended by a long cavalcade inferior in magnificence only to that which, before a coronation, escorted the sovereign from the Tower

¹ North's Examen. This amusing writer has preserved a specimen of the sublime raptures in which the Pindar of the City indulged:—

“The worshipful Sir John Moor!
After age that name adore!”

to Westminster. The Lord Mayor was never seen in public without his rich robe, his hood of black velvet, his gold chain, his jewel, and a great attendance of harbingers and guards.¹ Nor did the world find anything ludicrous in the pomp which constantly surrounded him. For it was not more than became the place which, as wielding the strength and representing the dignity of the City of London, he was entitled to occupy in the State. That City, being then not only without equal in the country, but without second,¹⁰ had, during five and forty years, exercised almost as great an influence on the politics of England as Paris has, in our own time, exercised on the politics of France. In intelligence London was greatly in advance of every other part of the kingdom. A¹⁵ government, supported and trusted by London, could in a day obtain such pecuniary means as it would have taken months to collect from the rest of the island. Nor were the military resources of the capital to be despised. The power which the Lord Lieu-²⁰ tenants exercised in other parts of the kingdom was in London entrusted to a Commission of eminent citizens. Under the order of this Commission were twelve regiments of foot and two regiments of horse. An army of drapers' apprentices and journeymen²⁵ tailors, with common councilmen for captains and aldermen for colonels, might not indeed have been able to stand its ground against regular troops; but there were then very few regular troops in the kingdom. A town, therefore, which could send forth, at an hour's³⁰ notice, thousands of men, abounding in natural courage, provided with tolerable weapons, and not altogether untinctured with martial discipline, could not but be a valuable ally and a formidable enemy. It was not forgotten that Hampden and Pym had³⁵

¹ Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684; *Anglice Metropolis*, 1690; Seymour's *London*, 1734.

been protected from lawless tyranny by the London trainbands; that, in the great crisis of the civil war, the London trainbands had marched to raise the siege of Gloucester; or that, in the movement against the military tyrants which followed the downfall of Richard Cromwell, the London trainbands had borne a signal part. In truth, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for the hostility of the City, Charles the First would never have been vanquished, and that, without the help of the City, Charles the Second 10 could scarcely have been restored.

These considerations may serve to explain why, in spite of that attraction which had, during a long course of years, gradually drawn the aristocracy westward, a few men of high rank had continued, till 15 a very recent period, to dwell in the vicinity of the Exchange and of the Guildhall. Shaftesbury and Buckingham, while engaged in bitter and unscrupulous opposition to the government, had thought that they could nowhere carry on their intrigues so conveniently 20 or so securely as under the protection of the City magistrates and the City militia. Shaftesbury had therefore lived in Aldersgate Street, at a house which may still be easily known by pilasters and wreaths, the graceful work of Inigo. Buckingham had 25 ordered his mansion near Charing Cross, once the abode of the Archbishops of York, to be pulled down; and, while streets and alleys which are still named after him were rising on that site, chose to reside in Dowgate.¹ 30

These, however, were rare exceptions. Almost all the noble families of England had long migrated beyond the walls. The district where most of their town houses stood lies between the city and the regions which are now considered as fashionable. A 35

¹ North's Examen, 116.; Wood, Ath. Ox. Shaftesbury; The Duke of B.'s Litany.

few great men still retained their hereditary hotels in the Strand. The stately dwellings on the south and west of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Piazza of Covent Garden, Southampton Square, which is now called Bloomsbury Square, and King's Square in Soho 5 Fields, which is now called Soho Square, were among the favourite spots. Foreign princes were carried to see Bloomsbury Square, as one of the wonders of England.¹ Soho Square, which had just been built, was to our ancestors a subject of pride with which 10 their posterity will hardly sympathise. Monmouth Square had been the name while the fortunes of the Duke of Monmouth flourished; and on the southern side towered his mansion. The front, though ungraceful, was lofty and richly adorned. The walls of the 15 principal apartments were finely sculptured with fruit, foliage, and armorial bearings, and were hung with embroidered satin.² Every trace of this magnificence has long disappeared; and no aristocratical mansion is to be found in that once aristocratical 20 quarter. A little way north from Holborn, and on the verge of the pastures and corn-fields, rose two celebrated palaces, each with an ample garden. One of them, then called Southampton House, and subsequently Bedford House, was removed about 25 fifty years ago to make room for a new city, which now covers, with its squares, streets, and churches, a vast area, renowned in the seventeenth century for peaches and snipes. The other, Montague House, celebrated for its frescoes and furniture, was, a few 30 months after the death of Charles the Second, burned to the ground, and was speedily succeeded by a more magnificent Montague House, which, having been long the repository of such various and precious

¹ Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo.

² Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684; Pennant's London; Smith's Life of Nollekens.

treasures of art, science, and learning as were scarcely ever before assembled under a single roof, has now given place to an edifice more magnificent still.¹

Nearer to the Court, on a space called St. James's Fields, had just been built St. James's Square and 5 Jermyn Street. St. James's Church had recently been opened for the accommodation of the inhabitants of this new quarter.² Golden Square, which was in the next generation inhabited by lords and ministers of state, had not yet been begun. Indeed the only 10 dwellings to be seen on the north of Piccadilly were three or four isolated and almost rural mansions, of which the most celebrated was the costly pile erected by Clarendon, and nicknamed Dunkirk House. It had been purchased after its founder's downfall by 15 the Duke of Albemarle. The Clarendon Hotel and Albemarle Street still preserve the memory of the site.

He who then rambled to what is now the gayest and most crowded part of Regent Street found him- 20 self in a solitude, and was sometimes so fortunate as to have a shot at a woodcock.³ On the north the Oxford road ran between hedges. Three or four hundred yards to the south were the garden walls of a few great houses which were considered as quite 25 out of town. On the west was a meadow renowned for a spring from which, long afterwards, Conduit Street was named. On the east was a field not to be passed without a shudder by any Londoner of that age. There, as in a place far from the haunts of men, 30 had been dug, twenty years before, when the great plague was raging, a pit into which the dead carts

¹ Evelyn's Diary, Oct. 10. 1683, Jan. 19. 1685.

² Stat. 1 Jac. II. c. 22.; Evelyn's Diary, Dec. 7. 1684.

³ Old General Oglethorpe, who died in 1785, used to boast that he had shot birds here in Anne's reign. See Pennant's London, and the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1785.

had nightly shot corpses by scores. It was popularly believed that the earth was deeply tainted with infection, and could not be disturbed without imminent risk to human life. No foundations were laid there till two generations had passed without any return of the pestilence, and till the ghastly spot had long been surrounded by buildings.¹

We should greatly err if we were to suppose that any of the streets and squares then bore the same aspect as at present. The great majority of the houses, indeed, have, since that time, been wholly, or in great part, rebuilt. If the most fashionable parts of the capital could be placed before us such as they then were, we should be disgusted by their squalid appearance, and poisoned by their noisome atmosphere.

In Covent Garden a filthy and noisy market was held close to the dwellings of the great. Fruit women screamed, carters fought, cabbage stalks and rotten apples accumulated in heaps at the thresholds of the Countess of Berkshire and of the Bishop of Durham.²

The centre of Lincoln's Inn Fields was an open space where the rabble congregated every evening, within a few yards of Cardigan House and Winchester House, to hear mountebanks harangue, to see bears dance, and to set dogs at oxen. Rubbish was shot in every part of the area. Horses were exercised there. The beggars were as noisy and importunate as in the worst governed cities of the Continent. A Lincoln's Inn mumper was a proverb. The whole fraternity knew the arms and liveries of every charitably dis-

¹ The pest field will be seen in maps of London as late as the end of George the First's reign.

² See a very curious plan of Covent Garden made about 1690, and engraved for Smith's History of Westminster. See also Hogarth's Morning, painted while some of the houses in the Piazza were still occupied by people of fashion.

posed grandee in the neighbourhood, and, as soon as his lordship's coach and six appeared, came hopping and crawling in crowds to persecute him. These disorders lasted, in spite of many accidents, and of some legal proceedings, till, in the reign of George 5 the Second, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, was knocked down and nearly killed in the middle of the square. Then at length palisades were set up, and a pleasant garden laid out.¹

Saint James's Square was a receptacle for all the 10 offal and cinders, for all the dead cats and dead dogs of Westminster. At one time a cudgel player kept the ring there. At another time an impudent squatter settled himself there, and built a shed for rubbish under the windows of the gilded saloons in 15 which the first magnates of the realm, Norfolk, Ormond, Kent, and Pembroke, gave banquets and balls. It was not till these nuisances had lasted through a whole generation, and till much had been written about them, that the inhabitants applied to 20 Parliament for permission to put up rails, and to plant trees.²

When such was the state of the region inhabited by the most luxurious portion of society, we may easily believe that the great body of the population 25

¹ London Spy; Tom Brown's comical View of London and Westminster; Turner's Propositions for the employing of the Poor, 1678; Daily Courant and Daily Journal of June 7. 1733; Case of Michael v. Allestree, in 1676, 2 Levinz, p. 172. Michael had been run over by two horses which Allestree was breaking in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The declaration set forth that the defendant "porta deux chivals ungovernable en un coach, et imprévide, incaute, et absque debita consideratione ineptitudinis loci la eux drive pur eux faire tractable et apt pur un coach, quels chivals, pur ceo que, per leur ferocite, ne poient estre rule, curre sur le plaintiff et le noie."

² Stat. 12 Geo. I. c. 25.; Commons' Journals, Feb. 25. March 2. 1724; London Gardener, 1712; Evening Post, March 23. 1731. I have not been able to find this number of the Evening Post; I therefore quote it on the faith of Mr. Malcolm, who mentions it in his History of London.

suffered what would now be considered as insupportable grievances. The pavement was detestable: all foreigners cried shame upon it. The drainage was so bad that in rainy weather the gutters soon became torrents. Several facetious poets have commemorated 5 the fury with which these black rivulets roared down Snow Hill and Ludgate Hill, bearing to Fleet Ditch a vast tribute of animal and vegetable filth from the stalls of butchers and greengrocers. This flood was profusely thrown to right and left by coaches and carts. 10 To keep as far from the carriage road as possible was therefore the wish of every pedestrian. The mild and timid gave the wall. The bold and athletic took it. If two roisterers met, they cocked their hats in each other's faces, and pushed each other about 15 till the weaker was shoved towards the kennel. If he was a mere bully he sneaked off, muttering that he should find a time. If he was pugnacious, the encounter probably ended in a duel behind Montague House.¹ Swift, I. Johnson. 20

The houses were not numbered. There would indeed have been little advantage in numbering them; for of the coachmen, chairmen, porters, and errand boys of London, a very small proportion could read. It was necessary to use marks which the 25 most ignorant could understand. The shops were therefore distinguished by painted or sculptured signs, which gave a gay and grotesque aspect to the streets. The walk from Charing Cross to White-chapel lay through an endless succession of Saracens' 30 Heads, Royal Oaks, Blue Bears, and Golden Lambs, which disappeared when they were no longer required for the direction of the common people.

¹ Lettres sur les Anglois, written early in the reign of William the Third; Swift's City Shower; Gay's Trivia. Johnson used to relate a curious conversation which he had with his mother about giving and taking the wall.

When the evening closed in, the difficulty and danger of walking about London became serious indeed. The garret windows were opened, and pails were emptied, with little regard to those who were passing below. Falls, bruises, and broken bones 5 were of constant occurrence. For, till the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, most of the streets were left in profound darkness. Thieves and robbers plied their trade with impunity: yet they were hardly so terrible to peaceable citizens as another 10 class of ruffians. It was a favourite amusement of dissolute young gentlemen to swagger by night about the town, breaking windows, upsetting sedans, beating quiet men, and offering rude caresses to pretty women. Several dynasties of these tyrants 15 had, since the Restoration, domineered over the streets. The Muns and Tityre Tus had given place to the Hectors, and the Hectors had been recently succeeded by the Scourers. At a later period arose the Nicker, the Hawcubite, and the yet more dreaded 20 name of Mohawk.¹ The machinery for keeping the peace was utterly contemptible. There was an Act of Common Council which provided that more than a thousand watchmen should be constantly on the alert in the city, from sunset to sunrise, and that 25 every inhabitant should take his turn of duty. But this Act was negligently executed. Few of those

¹ Oldham's Imitation of the 3d Satire of Juvenal, 1682; Shadwell's Scourers, 1690. Many other authorities will readily occur to all who are acquainted with the popular literature of that and the succeeding generation. It may be suspected that some of the Tityre Tus, like good Cavaliers, broke Milton's windows shortly after the Restoration. I am confident that he was thinking of those pests of London when he dictated the noble lines:—

“And in luxurious cities, when the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage, and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.”

who were summoned left their homes; and those few generally found it more agreeable to tipple in alehouses than to pace the streets.¹

It ought to be noticed that, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, began a great change in the police of London, a change which has perhaps added as much to the happiness of the body of the people as revolutions of much greater fame. An ingenious projector, named Edward Heming, obtained letters patent conveying to him, for a term of 10 years, the exclusive right of lighting up London. He undertook, for a moderate consideration, to place a light before every tenth door, on moonless nights, from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and from six to twelve of the clock. Those who now see the capital all the 15 year round, from dusk to dawn, blazing with a splendour beside which the illuminations for La Hogue and Blenheim would have looked pale, may perhaps smile to think of Heming's lanterns, which glimmered feebly before one house in ten during a small part of 20 one night in three. But such was not the feeling of his contemporaries. His scheme was enthusiastically applauded, and furiously attacked. The friends of improvement extolled him as the greatest of all the benefactors of his city. What, they asked, were the 25 boasted inventions of Archimedes, when compared with the achievement of the man who had turned the nocturnal shades into noon day? In spite of these eloquent eulogies the cause of darkness was not left undefended. There were fools in that age who opposed 30 the introduction of what was called the new light as strenuously as fools in our age have opposed the introduction of vaccination and railroads, as strenuously as the fools of an age anterior to the dawn of history doubtless opposed the introduction of the 35 plough and of alphabetical writing. Many years after

¹ Seymour's London.

the date of Heming's patent there were extensive districts in which no lamp was seen.¹ *See I*

We may easily imagine what, in such times, must have been the state of the quarters of London which were peopled by the outcasts of society. Among those quarters one had attained a scandalous pre-eminence. On the confines of the City and the Temple had been founded, in the thirteenth century, a House of Carmelite Friars, distinguished by their white hoods. The precinct of this house had, before the Reformation, been a sanctuary for criminals, and still retained the privilege of protecting debtors from arrest. Insolvents consequently were to be found in every dwelling, from cellar to garret. Of these a large proportion were knaves and libertines, and were followed to their asylum by women more abandoned than themselves. The civil power was unable to keep order in a district swarming with such inhabitants; and thus Whitefriars became the favourite resort of all who wished to be emancipated from the restraints of the law. Though the immunities legally belonging to the place extended only to cases of debt, cheats, false witnesses, forgers, and highwaymen found refuge there. For amidst a rabble so desperate no peace officer's life was in safety. At the cry of "Rescue," bullies with swords and cudgels, and termagant hags with spits and broomsticks, poured forth by hundreds; and the intruder was fortunate if he escaped back into Fleet Street, hustled, stripped, and pumped upon. Even the warrant of the Chief Justice of England could not be executed without the help of a company of musketeers. Such relics of the barbarism of the darkest ages were to be found within a short walk of the chambers where Somers was studying history and law, of the chapel where Tillotson was preaching, of

¹ Angliae Metropolis, 1690, Sect. 17. entitled, "Of the new lights"; Seymour's London.

the coffee house where Dryden was passing judgment on poems and plays, and of the hall where the Royal Society was examining the astronomical system of Isaac Newton.¹

Each of the two cities which made up the capital of England had its own centre of attraction. In the metropolis of commerce the point of convergence was the Exchange; in the metropolis of fashion the Palace. But the Palace did not retain its influence so long as the Exchange. The Revolution completely altered the relations between the Court and the higher classes of society. It was by degrees discovered that the King, in his individual capacity, had very little to give; that coronets and garters, bishoprics and embassies, lordships of the Treasury and tellerships of the Exchequer, nay, even charges in the royal stud and bedchamber, were really bestowed, not by him, but by his advisers. Every ambitious and covetous man perceived that he would consult his own interest far better by acquiring the dominion of a Cornish borough, and by rendering good service to the ministry during a critical session, than by becoming the companion, or even the minion, of his prince. It was therefore in the antechambers, not of George the First and of George the Second, but of Walpole and of Pelham, that the daily crowd of courtiers was to be found. It is also to be remarked that the same Revolution, which made it impossible that our Kings should use the patronage of the state merely for the purpose of gratifying their personal predilections, gave us several Kings unfitted by their education and habits to be gracious and affable hosts. They had been born and bred on the Continent. They never felt themselves at home in our island. If they spoke our language, they spoke it inelegantly and with

¹ Stowe's Survey of London; Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia; Ward's London Spy; Stat. 8 & 9 Gul. III. cap. 27.

effort. Our national character they never fully understood. Our national manners they hardly attempted to acquire. The most important part of their duty they performed better than any ruler who had preceded them: for they governed strictly according to law: but they could not be the first gentlemen of the realm, the heads of polite society. If ever they unbent, it was in a very small circle where hardly an English face was to be seen; and they were never so happy as when they could escape for a summer to their native land. They had indeed their days of reception for our nobility and gentry; but the reception was mere matter of form, and became at last as solemn a ceremony as a funeral.

Not such was the court of Charles the Second. Whitehall, when he dwelt there, was the focus of political intrigue and of fashionable gaiety. Half the jobbing and half the flirting of the metropolis went on under his roof. Whoever could make himself agreeable to the prince, or could secure the good offices of the mistress, might hope to rise in the world without rendering any service to the government, without being even known by sight to any minister of state. This courtier got a frigate, and that a company; a third, the pardon of a rich offender; a fourth, a lease of crown land on easy terms. If the King notified his pleasure that a briefless lawyer should be made a judge, or that a libertine baronet should be made a peer, the gravest counsellors, after a little murmuring, submitted.¹ Interest, therefore, drew a constant press of suitors to the gates of the palace; and those gates always stood wide. The King kept open house every day, and all day long, for the good society of London, the extreme Whigs only excepted.

¹ See Sir Roger North's account of the way in which Wright was made a judge, and Clarendon's account of the way in which Sir George Savile was made a peer.

Hardly any gentleman had any difficulty in making his way to the royal presence. The levee was exactly what the word imports. Some men of quality came every morning to stand round their master, to chat with him while his wig was combed and his cravat⁵ tied, and to accompany him in his early walk through the Park. All persons who had been properly introduced might, without any special invitation, go to see him dine, sup, dance, and play at hazard, and might have the pleasure of hearing him tell stories, which¹⁰ indeed he told remarkably well, about his flight from Worcester, and about the misery which he had endured when he was a state prisoner in the hands of the canting meddling preachers of Scotland. By-standers whom His Majesty recognised often came¹⁵ in for a courteous word. This proved a far more successful kingcraft than any that his father or grandfather had practised. It was not easy for the most austere republican of the school of Marvel to resist the fascination of so much good humour and affa-²⁰ bility: and many a veteran Cavalier, in whose heart the remembrance of unrequited sacrifices and services had been festering during twenty years, was compensated in one moment for wounds and sequestrations by his sovereign's kind nod, and "God bless you, my²⁵ old friend!"

Whitehall naturally became the chief staple of news. Whenever there was a rumour that anything important had happened or was about to happen, people hastened thither to obtain intelligence from³⁰ the fountain head. The galleries presented the appearance of a modern club room at an anxious time. They were full of people enquiring whether the Dutch mail was in, what tidings the express from France had brought, whether John Sobiesky had³⁵ beaten the Turks, whether the Doge of Genoa was really at Paris. These were matters about which it

was safe to talk aloud. But there were subjects concerning which information was asked and given in whispers. Had Halifax got the better of Rochester? Was there to be a Parliament? Was the Duke of York really going to Scotland? Had Monmouth⁵ really been summoned from the Hague? Men tried to read the countenance of every minister as he went through the throng to and from the royal closet. All sorts of auguries were drawn from the tone in which His Majesty spoke to the Lord President, or from¹⁰ the laugh with which His Majesty honoured a jest of the Lord Privy Seal; and in a few hours the hopes and fears inspired by such slight indications had spread to all the coffee houses from Saint James's to the Tower.¹

The coffee house must not be dismissed with a¹⁵ cursory mention. It might indeed at that time have been not improperly called a most important political institution. No Parliament had sat for years. The municipal council of the City had ceased to speak the sense of the citizens. Public meetings, harangues,²⁰ resolutions, and the rest of the modern machinery of agitation had not yet come into fashion. Nothing resembling the modern newspaper existed. In such circumstances the coffee houses were the chief organs through which the public opinion of the metropolis²⁵ vented itself.

The first of these establishments had been set up, in the time of the Commonwealth, by a Turkey merchant, who had acquired among the Mahometans a taste for their favourite beverage. The convenience³⁰ of being able to make appointments in any part of the town, and of being able to pass evenings socially

¹ The sources from which I have drawn my information about the state of the Court are too numerous to recapitulate. Among them are the Despatches of Barillon, Van Citters, Ronquillo, and Adda, the Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo, the works of Roger North, the Diaries of Pepys, Evelyn, and Teonge, and the Memoirs of Grammont and Reresby.

at a very small charge, was so great that the fashion spread fast. Every man of the upper or middle class went daily to his coffee house to learn the news and to discuss it. Every coffee house had one or more orators to whose eloquence the crowd listened with 5 admiration, and who soon became, what the journalists of our time have been called, a fourth Estate of the realm. The Court had long seen with uneasiness the growth of this new power in the state. An attempt had been made, during Danby's administration, to 10 close the coffee houses. But men of all parties missed their usual places of resort so much that there was an universal outcry. The government did not venture, in opposition to a feeling so strong and general, to enforce a regulation of which the legality 15 might well be questioned. Since that time ten years had elapsed, and during those years the number and influence of the coffee houses had been constantly increasing. Foreigners remarked that the coffee house was that which especially distinguished 20 London from all other cities; that the coffee house was the Londoner's home, and that those who wished to find a gentleman commonly asked, not whether he lived in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane, but whether he frequented the Grecian or the Rainbow. Nobody 25 was excluded from these places who laid down his penny at the bar. Yet every rank and profession, and every shade of religious and political opinion, had its own head quarters. There were houses near Saint James's Park where fops congregated, their 30 heads and shoulders covered with black or flaxen wigs, not less ample than those which are now worn by the Chancellor and by the Speaker of the House of Commons. The wig came from Paris; and so did the rest of the fine gentleman's ornaments, his embroidered coat, his fringed gloves, and the tassel which upheld his pantaloons. The conversation was

sect I

in that dialect which, long after it had ceased to be spoken in fashionable circles, continued, in the mouth of Lord Foppington, to excite the mirth of theatres.¹ The atmosphere was like that of a perfumer's shop. Tobacco in any other form than that of richly scented snuff was held in abomination. If any clown, ignorant of the usages of the house, called for a pipe, the sneers of the whole assembly and the short answers of the waiters soon convinced him that he had better go somewhere else. Nor, indeed, would he have had far to go. For, in general, the coffee rooms reeked with tobacco like a guardroom; and strangers sometimes expressed their surprise that so many people should leave their own firesides to sit in the midst of eternal fog and stench. Nowhere was the smoking more constant than at Will's. That celebrated house, situated between Covent Garden and Bow Street, was sacred to polite letters. There the talk was about poetical justice and the unities of place and time. There was a faction for Perrault and the moderns, a faction for Boileau and the ancients. One group debated whether *Paradise Lost* ought not to have been in rhyme. To another an envious poetaster demonstrated that *Venice Preserved* ought to have been hooted from the stage. Under no roof was a greater variety of figures to be seen. There were Earls in stars and garters, clergymen in cassocks and bands, pert Templars, sheepish lads from the Universities, translators and indexmakers in ragged coats of frieze. The great press was to get near the chair where John Dryden sate. In winter that chair was always in the warmest nook by the fire; in summer it stood in the balcony. To bow to

¹ The chief peculiarity of this dialect was that, in a large class of words, the O was pronounced like A. Thus Lord was pronounced Lard. See Vanbrugh's *Relapse*. Lord Sunderland was a great master of this court tune, as Roger North calls it; and Titus Oates affected it in the hope of passing for a fine gentleman. *Examen*, 77. 254.

the Laureate, and to hear his opinion of Racine's last tragedy or of Bossu's treatise on epic poetry, was thought a privilege. A pinch from his snuff box was an honour sufficient to turn the head of a young enthusiast. There were coffee houses where the first medical men might be consulted. Doctor John Radcliffe, who, in the year 1685, rose to the largest practice in London, came daily, at the hour when the Exchange was full, from his house in Bow Street, then a fashionable part of the capital, to Garraway's, and was to be found, surrounded by surgeons and apothecaries, at a particular table. There were Puritan coffee houses where no oath was heard, and where lankhaired men discussed election and reprobation through their noses; Jew coffee houses where darkeyed money changers from Venice and from Amsterdam greeted each other; and Popish coffee houses where, as good Protestants believed, Jesuits planned, over their cups, another great fire, and cast silver bullets to shoot the King.¹

thin hair

20

These gregarious habits had no small share in forming the character of the Londoner of that age. He was, indeed, a different being from the rustic Englishman. There was not then the intercourse which now exists between the two classes. Only very great men were in the habit of dividing the year between town and country. Few esquires came to the capital thrice in their lives. Nor was it yet the practice of all citizens in easy circumstances to breathe the fresh air of the fields and woods during some

¹ Lettres sur les Anglois; Tom Brown's Tour; Ward's London Spy; The Character of a Coffee House, 1673; Rules and Orders of the Coffee House, 1674; Coffee Houses vindicated, 1675; A Satyr against Coffee; North's Examen, 138.; Life of Guildford, 152.; Life of Sir Dudley North, 149.; Life of Dr. Radcliffe, published by Curll in 1715. The liveliest description of Will's is in the City and Country Mouse. There is a remarkable passage about the influence of the coffee house orators in Hakstead's Succinct Genealogies, printed in 1685.

weeks of every summer. A cockney, in a rural village, was stared at as much as if he had intruded into a Kraal of Hottentots. On the other hand, when the lord of a Linconshire or Shropshire manor appeared in Fleet Street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lascar. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he gazed at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ran against the porters, and stood under the waterspouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and banterers. Bullies jostled him into the kennel. Hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot. Thieves explored with perfect security the huge pockets of his horseman's coat, while he stood entranced by the splendour of the Lord Mayor's show. Moneydroppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared to him the most honest friendly gentlemen that he had ever seen. Painted women, the refuse of Lewkner Lane and Whetstone Park, passed themselves on him for countesses and maids of honour. If he asked his way to Saint James's, his informants sent him to Mile End. If he went into a shop, he was instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy, of secondhand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go. If he rambled into any fashionable coffee house, he became a mark for the insolent derision of fops and the grave waggery of Templars. Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion, and there, in the homage of his tenants and the conversation of his boon companions, found consolation for the vexations and humiliations which he had undergone. There he was once more a great man, and saw nothing above himself except when at the assizes he took his seat on the bench near the Judge, or when at the muster of the militia he saluted the Lord Lieutenant.

*difficultly
travelling*

The chief cause which made the fusion of the different elements of society so imperfect was the extreme difficulty which our ancestors found in passing from place to place. Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilisation of our species. Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind morally and intellectually as well as materially, and not only facilitates the interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to bind together all the branches of the great human family. In the seventeenth century the inhabitants of London were, for almost every practical purpose, farther from Reading 15 than they now are from Edinburgh, and farther from Edinburgh than they now are from Vienna.

The subjects of Charles the Second were not, it is true, quite unacquainted with that principle which has, in our own time, produced an unprecedented revolution in human affairs, which has enabled navies to advance in face of wind and tide, and brigades of troops, attended by all their baggage and artillery, to traverse kingdoms at a pace equal to that of the fleetest race horse. The Marquess of Worcester had 25 recently observed the expansive power of moisture rarefied by heat. After many experiments he had succeeded in constructing a rude steam engine, which he called a fire water work, and which he pronounced to be an admirable and most forcible instrument of propulsion.¹ But the Marquess was suspected to be a madman, and known to be a Papist. His inventions, therefore, found no favourable reception. His fire water work might, perhaps, furnish matter for conversation at a meeting of the Royal Society, but 35 was not applied to any practical purpose. There

¹ Century of Inventions, 1663, No. 68.

were no railways, except a few made of timber, on which coals were carried from the mouths of the Northumbrian pits to the banks of the Tyne.¹ There was very little internal communication by water. A few attempts had been made to deepen and embank the natural streams, but with slender success. Hardly a single navigable canal had been even projected. The English of that day were in the habit of talking with mingled admiration and despair of the immense trench by which Lewis the Fourteenth had made a junction between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. They little thought that their country would, in the course of a few generations, be intersected, at the cost of private adventurers, by artificial rivers making up more than four times the length of the Thames, the Severn, and the Trent together.

It was by the highways that both travellers and goods generally passed from place to place; and those highways appear to have been far worse than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilisation which the nation had even then attained. On the best lines of communication the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way often such as it was hardly possible to distinguish, in the dusk, from the unenclosed heath and fen which lay on both sides. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, was in danger of losing his way on the great North road, between Barnby Moor and Tuxford, and actually lost his way between Doncaster and York.² Pepys and his wife, travelling in their own coach, lost their way between Newbury and Reading. In the course of the same tour they lost their way near Salisbury, and were in danger of having to pass the night on the plain.³ It was only in fine weather that the whole

¹ North's Life of Guildford, 136.

² Thoresby's Diary, Oct. 21. 1680, Aug. 3. 1712.

³ Pepys's Diary, June 12. and 16. 1668.

breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles. Often the mud lay deep on the right and the left; and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire.¹ At such times obstructions and quarrels were frequent, and the path was sometimes 5 blocked up during a long time by carriers, neither of whom would break the way. It happened, almost every day, that coaches stuck fast, until a team of cattle could be procured from some neighbouring farm, to tug them out of the slough. But in bad 10 seasons the traveller had to encounter inconveniences still more serious. Thoresby, who was in the habit of travelling between Leeds and the capital, has recorded, in his Diary, such a series of perils and disasters as might suffice for a journey to the Frozen 15 Ocean or to the Desert of Sahara. On one occasion he learned that the floods were out between Ware and London, that passengers had to swim for their lives, and that a higgler had perished in the attempt to cross. In consequence of these tidings he turned 20 out of the high road, and was conducted across some meadows, where it was necessary for him to ride to the saddle skirts in water.² In the course of another journey he narrowly escaped being swept away by an inundation of the Trent. He was afterwards detained 25 at Stamford four days, on account of the state of the roads, and then ventured to proceed only because fourteen members of the House of Commons, who were going up in a body to Parliament with guides and numerous attendants, took him into their 30 company.³ On the roads of Derbyshire, travellers were in constant fear for their necks, and were frequently compelled to alight and lead their beasts.⁴

¹ Pepys's Diary, Feb. 28. 1660.

² Thoresby's Diary, May 17. 1695.

³ Ibid. Dec. 27. 1708.

⁴ Tour in Derbyshire, by J. Browne, son of Sir Thomas Browne 1662; Cotton's Angler, 1676.

The great route through Wales to Holyhead was in such a state that, in 1685, a viceroy, going to Ireland, was five hours in travelling fourteen miles, from Saint Asaph to Conway. Between Conway and Beaumaris he was forced to walk great part of the way; and his lady was carried in a litter. His coach was, with much difficulty, and by the help of many hands, brought after him entire. In general, carriages were taken to pieces at Conway, and borne, on the shoulders of stout Welsh peasants, to the Menai Straits.¹ In some parts of Kent and Sussex, none but the strongest horses could, in winter, get through the bog, in which, at every step, they sank deep. The markets were often inaccessible during several months. It is said that the fruits of the earth were sometimes suffered to rot in one place, while in another place, distant only a few miles, the supply fell far short of the demand. The wheeled carriages were, in this district, generally pulled by oxen.² When Prince George of Denmark visited the stately mansion of Petworth in wet weather, he was six hours in going nine miles; and it was necessary that a body of sturdy hinds should be on each side of his coach, in order to prop it. Of the carriages which conveyed his retinue several were upset and injured. A letter from one of the party has been preserved, in which the unfortunate courtier complains that, during fourteen hours, he never once alighted, except when his coach was overturned or stuck fast in the mud.³

One chief cause of the badness of the roads seems to have been the defective state of the law. Every parish was bound to repair the highways which passed through it. The peasantry were forced to

¹ Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon, Dec. 30. 1685, Jan. 1. 1686.

² Postlethwaite's Dictionary, Roads; History of Hawkhurst, in the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.

³ Annals of Queen Anne, 1703. Appendix, No. 3.

give their gratuitous labour six days in the year. If this was not sufficient, hired labour was employed, and the expense was met by a parochial rate. That a route connecting two great towns, which have a large and thriving trade with each other, should be maintained at the cost of the rural population scattered between them is obviously unjust; and this injustice was peculiarly glaring in the case of the great North road, which traversed very poor and thinly inhabited districts, and joined very rich and populous districts. Indeed it was not in the power of the parishes of Huntingdonshire to mend a highway worn by the constant traffic between the West Riding of Yorkshire and London. Soon after the Restoration this grievance attracted the notice of Parliament; and an act, the first of our many turnpike acts, was passed, imposing a small toll on travellers and goods, for the purpose of keeping some parts of this important line of communication in good repair.¹ This innovation, however, excited many murmurs; and the other great avenues to the capital were long left under the old system. A change was at length effected, but not without much difficulty. For unjust and absurd taxation to which men are accustomed is often borne far more willingly than the most reasonable impost which is new. It was not till many toll bars had been violently pulled down, till the troops had in many districts been forced to act against the people, and till much blood had been shed, that a good system was introduced.² By slow degrees reason triumphed over prejudice; and our island is now crossed in every direction by near thirty thousand miles of turnpike road.

¹ 15 Car. II. c. 1.

² The evils of the old system are strikingly set forth in many petitions which appear in the Commons' Journal of 1725. How fierce an opposition was offered to the new system may be learned from the Gentleman's Magazine of 1749.

On the best highways heavy articles were, in the time of Charles the Second, generally conveyed from place to place by stage waggons. In the straw of these vehicles nestled a crowd of passengers, who could not afford to travel by coach or on horseback, and who were prevented by infirmity, or by the weight of their luggage, from going on foot. The expense of transmitting heavy goods in this way was enormous. From London to Birmingham the charge was seven pounds a ton; from London to Exeter twelve pounds a ton.¹ This was about fifteen pence a ton for every mile, more by a third than was afterwards charged on turnpike roads, and fifteen times what is now demanded by railway companies. The cost of conveyance amounted to a prohibitory tax on many useful articles. Coal in particular was never seen except in the districts where it was produced, or in the districts to which it could be carried by sea, and was indeed always known in the south of England by the name of sea coal.

On byroads, and generally throughout the country north of York and west of Exeter, goods were carried by long trains of packhorses. These strong and patient beasts, the breed of which is now extinct, were attended by a class of men who seem to have borne much resemblance to the Spanish muleteers. A traveller of humble condition often found it convenient to perform a journey mounted on a pack-saddle between two baskets, under the care of these hardy guides. The expense of this mode of conveyance was small. But the caravan moved at a foot's pace; and in winter the cold was often insupportable.²

The rich commonly travelled in their own car-

¹ Postlethwaite's Dict., Roads.

² Loidis and Elmete; Marshall's Rural Economy of England. In 1739 Roderick Random came from Scotland to Newcastle on a pack-horse.

riages, with at least four horses. Cotton, the facetious poet, attempted to go from London to the Peak with a single pair, but found at Saint Albans that the journey would be insupportably tedious, and altered his plan.¹ A coach and six is in our time never 5 seen, except as part of some pageant. The frequent mention therefore of such equipages in old books is likely to mislead us. We attribute to magnificence what was really the effect of a very disagreeable necessity. People, in the time of Charles the Second, 10 travelled with six horses, because with a smaller number there was great danger of sticking fast in the mire. Nor were even six horses always sufficient. Vanbrugh, in the succeeding generation, described with great humour the way in which a country 15 gentleman, newly chosen a member of Parliament, went up to London. On that occasion all the exertions of six beasts, two of which had been taken from the plough, could not save the family coach from being embedded in a quagmire. 20

Public carriages had recently been much improved. During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, a diligence ran between London and Oxford in two days. The passengers slept at Beaconsfield. At length, in the spring of 1669, a 25 great and daring innovation was attempted. It was announced that a vehicle, described as the Flying Coach, would perform the whole journey between sunrise and sunset. This spirited undertaking was solemnly considered and sanctioned by the Heads of 30 the University, and appears to have excited the same sort of interest which is excited in our own time by the opening of a new railway. The Vicechancellor, by a notice affixed in all public places, prescribed the hour and place of departure. The success of the ex- 35 periment was complete. At six in the morning the

¹ Cotton's Epistle to J. Bradshaw.

carriage began to move from before the ancient front of All Souls College; and at seven in the evening the adventurous gentlemen who had run the first risk were safely deposited at their inn in London.¹ The emulation of the sister University was moved; and soon a diligence was set up which in one day carried passengers from Cambridge to the capital. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, flying carriages ran thrice a week from London to the chief towns. But no stage coach, indeed no stage waggon, appears to have proceeded further north than York, or further west than Exeter. The ordinary day's journey of a flying coach was about fifty miles in the summer; but in winter, when the ways were bad and the nights long, little more than thirty. The Chester coach, the York coach, and the Exeter coach generally reached London in four days during the fine season, but at Christmas not till the sixth day. The passengers, six in number, were all seated in the carriage. For accidents were so frequent that it would have been most perilous to mount the roof. The ordinary fare was about twopence halfpenny a mile in summer, and somewhat more in winter.²

This mode of travelling, which by Englishmen of the present day would be regarded as insufferably slow, seemed to our ancestors wonderfully and indeed alarmingly rapid. In a work published a few months before the death of Charles the Second, the flying coaches are extolled as far superior to any similar vehicles ever known in the world. Their velocity is the subject of special commendation, and is triumphantly contrasted with the sluggish pace of the continental posts. But with boasts like these was mingled the sound of complaint and invective.

¹ Anthony à Wood's *Life of himself*.

² Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1684. See also the list of stage coaches and waggons at the end of the book, entitled *Angliae Metropolis*, 1690.

The interests of large classes had been unfavourably affected by the establishment of the new diligences; and, as usual, many persons were, from mere stupidity and obstinacy, disposed to clamour against the innovation, simply because it was an innovation. It was vehemently argued that this mode of conveyance would be fatal to the breed of horses and to the noble art of horsemanship; that the Thames, which had long been an important nursery of seamen, would cease to be the chief thoroughfare from London up to Windsor and down to Gravesend; that saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds; that numerous inns, at which mounted travellers had been in the habit of stopping, would be deserted, and would no longer pay any rent; that the new carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach sometimes reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper, and sometimes started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast. On these grounds it was gravely recommended that no public coach should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that, if this regulation were adopted, all except the sick and the lame would return to the old mode of travelling. Petitions embodying such opinions as these were presented to the King in council from several companies of the City of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties. We smile at these things. It is not impossible that our descendants, when they read the history of the opposition offered by cupidity and prejudice to the improvements of the nineteenth century, may smile in their turn.¹

35

¹ John Cresset's Reasons for suppressing Stage Coaches, 1672. These reasons were afterwards inserted in a tract, entitled "The

In spite of the attractions of the flying coaches, it was still usual for men who enjoyed health and vigour, and who were not encumbered by much baggage, to perform long journeys on horseback. If the traveller wished to move expeditiously he rode ⁵ post. Fresh saddle horses and guides were to be procured at convenient distances along all the great lines of road. The charge was threepence a mile for each horse, and fourpence a stage for the guide. In this manner, when the ways were good, it was pos- ¹⁰ sible to travel, for a considerable time, as rapidly as by any conveyance known in England, till vehicles were propelled by steam. There were as yet no post chaises; nor could those who rode in their own coaches ordinarily procure a change of horses. The ¹⁵ King, however, and the great officers of state were able to command relays. Thus Charles commonly went in one day from Whitehall to Newmarket, a distance of about fifty-five miles through a level country; and this was thought by his subjects a ²⁰ proof of great activity. Evelyn performed the same journey in company with the Lord Treasurer Clifford. The coach was drawn by six horses, which were changed at Bishop Stortford and again at Chesterford. The travellers reached Newmarket at night. Such a ²⁵ mode of conveyance seems to have been considered as a rare luxury confined to princes and ministers.

Whatever might be the way in which a journey was performed, the travellers, unless they were numerous and well armed, ran considerable risk of ³⁰ being stopped and plundered. The mounted highwayman, a marauder known to our generation only from books, was to be found on every main road.

Grand Concern of England explained, 1673." Cresset's attack on stage coaches called forth some answers which I have consulted.

¹ Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684. ; North's Examen, 105. ; Evelyn's Diary, Oct. 9, 10. 1671.

The waste tracts which lay on the great routes near London were especially haunted by plunderers of this class. Hounslow Heath, on the Great Western Road, and Finchley Common, on the Great Northern Road, were perhaps the most celebrated of these 5 spots. The Cambridge scholars trembled when they approached Epping Forest, even in broad daylight. Seamen who had just been paid off at Chatham were often compelled to deliver their purses on Gadshill, celebrated near a hundred years earlier by the greatest 10 of poets as the scene of the depredations of Falstaff. The public authorities seem to have been often at a loss how to deal with the plunderers. At one time it was announced in the Gazette, that several persons, who were strongly suspected of being highwaymen, 15 but against whom there was not sufficient evidence, would be paraded at Newgate in riding dresses: their horses would also be shown; and all gentlemen who had been robbed were invited to inspect this singular exhibition. On another occasion a pardon was pub- 20 licly offered to a robber if he would give up some rough diamonds, of immense value, which he had taken when he stopped the Harwich mail. A short time after appeared another proclamation, warning the innkeepers that the eye of the government was 25 upon them. Their criminal connivance, it was affirmed, enabled banditti to infest the roads with impunity. That these suspicions were not without foundation, is proved by the dying speeches of some penitent robbers of that age, who appear to have 30 received from the innkeepers services much resembling those which Farquhar's Boniface rendered to Gibbet.¹

It was necessary to the success and even to the

¹ See the London Gazette, May 14. 1677, August 4. 1687, Dec. 5. 1687. The last confession of Augustin King, who was the son of an eminent divine, and had been educated at Cambridge, but was hanged at Colchester in March 1688, is highly curious.

safety of the highwayman that he should be a bold and skilful rider, and that his manners and appearance should be such as suited the master of a fine horse. He therefore held an aristocratical position in the community of thieves, appeared at fashionable coffee houses, and gaming houses, and betted with men of quality on the race ground.¹ Sometimes, indeed, he was a man of good family and education. A romantic interest therefore attached, and perhaps still attaches, to the names of freebooters of this class. The vulgar eagerly drank in tales of their ferocity and audacity, of their occasional acts of generosity and good nature, of their amours, of their miraculous escapes, of their desperate struggles, and of their manly bearing at the bar and in the cart. Thus it was related of William Nevison, the great robber of Yorkshire, that he levied a quarterly tribute on all the northern drovers, and, in return, not only spared them himself, but protected them against all other thieves; that he demanded purses in the most courteous manner; that he gave largely to the poor what he had taken from the rich; that his life was once spared by the royal clemency, but that he again tempted his fate, and at length died, in 1685, on the gallows of York.² It was related how Claude Duval, the French page of the Duke of Richmond, took to the road, became captain of a formidable gang, and had the honour to be named first in a royal proclamation against notorious offenders; how at the head of his troop he

¹ *Ainswell*. Pray sir, han't I seen your face at Will's coffehouse?

Gibbet. Yes, sir, and at White's too.—Beaux' Stratagem.

² *Gent's History of York*. Another marauder of the same description, named Biss, was hanged at Salisbury in 1695. In a ballad which is in the Pepysian Library, he is represented as defending himself thus before the judge:

“What say you now, my honoured Lord,
What harm was there in this?
Rich, wealthy misers were abhorred
By brave, freehearted Biss.”

stopped a lady's coach, in which there was a booty of four hundred pounds; how he took only one hundred, and suffered the fair owner to ransom the rest by dancing a coranto with him on the heath; how his vivacious gallantry stole away the hearts of all women; 5 how his dexterity at sword and pistol made him a terror to all men; how, at length, in the year 1670, he was seized when overcome by wine; how dames of high rank visited him in prison, and with tears interceded for his life; how the King would have 10 granted a pardon, but for the interference of Judge Morton, the terror of highwaymen, who threatened to resign his office unless the law were carried into full effect; and how, after the execution, the corpse lay in state with all the pomp of scutcheons, wax lights, 15 black hangings and mutes, till the same cruel Judge, who had intercepted the mercy of the crown, sent officers to disturb the obsequies.¹ In these anecdotes there is doubtless a large mixture of fable; but they are not on that account unworthy of being recorded; 20 for it is both an authentic and an important fact that such tales, whether false or true, were heard by our ancestors with eagerness and faith.

All the various dangers by which the traveller was beset were greatly increased by darkness. He 25 was therefore commonly desirous of having the shelter of a roof during the night; and such shelter it was not difficult to obtain. From a very early period the inns of England had been renowned. Our first great poet had described the excellent accom- 30 modation which they afforded to the pilgrims of the fourteenth century. Nine and twenty persons, with their horses, found room in the wide chambers and stables of the Tabard in Southwark. The food was of the best, and the wines such as drew the company 35

¹ Pope's *Memoirs of Duval*, published immediately after the execution. Oates's *Εκλογή Βασίλειος*, Part I.

on to drink largely. Two hundred years later, under the reign of Elizabeth, William Harrison gave a lively description of the plenty and comfort of the great hostleries. The Continent of Europe, he said, could show nothing like them. There were some in which two or three hundred people, with their horses, could without difficulty be lodged and fed. The bedding, the tapestry, above all, the abundance of clean and fine linen was matter of wonder. Valuable plate was often set on the tables. Nay, there were signs which had cost thirty or forty pounds. In the seventeenth century England abounded with excellent inns of every rank. The traveller sometimes, in a small village, lighted on a public house such as Walton has described, where the brick floor was swept clean, where the walls were stuck round with ballads, where the sheets smelt of lavender, and where a blazing fire, a cup of good ale, and a dish of trouts fresh from the neighbouring brook, were to be procured at small charge. At the larger houses of entertainment were to be found beds hung with silk, choice cookery, and claret equal to the best which was drunk in London.¹ The innkeepers too, it was said, were not like other innkeepers. On the Continent the landlord was the tyrant of those who crossed the threshold. In England he was a servant. Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his case in his inn. Even men of fortune, who might in their own mansions have enjoyed every luxury, were often in the habit of passing their evenings in the parlour of some neighbouring house of public entertainment. They seem to have thought that comfort and freedom could in no other place be

¹ See the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Harrison's *Historical Description of the Island of Great Britain*, and Pepys's account of his tour in the summer of 1668. The excellence of the English inns is noticed in the *Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo*.

enjoyed with equal perfection. This feeling continued during many generations to be a national peculiarity. The liberty and jollity of inns long furnished matter to our novelists and dramatists. Johnson declared that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity; 5 and Shenstone gently complained that no private roof, however friendly, gave the wanderer so warm a welcome as that which was to be found at an inn.

Many conveniences, which were unknown at Hampton Court and Whitehall in the seventeenth 10 century, are in all modern hotels. Yet on the whole it is certain that the improvement of our houses of public entertainment has by no means kept pace with the improvement of our roads and of our conveyances. Nor is this strange; for it is evident that, all other 15 circumstances being supposed equal, the inns will be best where the means of locomotion are worst. The quicker the rate of travelling, the less important is it that there should be numerous agreeable resting places for the traveller. A hundred and sixty years 20 ago a person who came up to the capital from a remote county generally required, by the way, twelve or fifteen meals, and lodging, for five or six nights. If he were a great man, he expected the meals and lodging to be comfortable, and even luxurious. At 25 present we fly from York or Exeter to London by the light of a single winter's day. At present, therefore, a traveller seldom interrupts his journey merely for the sake of rest and refreshment. The consequence is that hundreds of excellent inns have fallen 30 into utter decay. In a short time no good houses of that description will be found, except at places where strangers are likely to be detained by business or pleasure.

The mode in which correspondence was carried 35 on between distant places may excite the scorn of the present generation; yet it was such as might have

Post-Office

moved the admiration and envy of the polished nations of antiquity, or of the contemporaries of Raleigh and Cecil. A rude and imperfect establishment of posts for the conveyance of letters had been set up by Charles the First, and had been swept away by the civil war. Under the Commonwealth the design was resumed. At the Restoration the proceeds of the Post Office, after all expenses had been paid, were settled on the Duke of York. On most lines of road the mails went out and came in only on the alternate days. In Cornwall, in the fens of Lincolnshire, and among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, letters were received only once a week. During a royal progress a daily post was despatched from the capital to the place where the court sojourned. There was also daily communication between London and the Downs; and the same privilege was sometimes extended to Tunbridge Wells and Bath at the seasons when those places were crowded by the great. The bags were carried on horseback day and night at the rate of about five miles an hour.¹

The revenue of this establishment was not derived solely from the charge for the transmission of letters. The Post Office alone was entitled to furnish post horses; and, from the care with which this monopoly was guarded, we may infer that it was found profitable.² If, indeed, a traveller had waited half an hour without being supplied, he might hire a horse wherever he could.

To facilitate correspondence between one part of London and another was not originally one of the objects of the Post Office. But, in the reign of Charles the Second, an enterprising citizen of London,

¹ Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 35; Chamberlayne's State of England, 1684; Anglice Metropolis, 1690; London Gazette, June 22. 1685, August 15. 1687.

² Lond. Gaz. Sept. 14. 1685.

William Dockwray, set up, at great expense, a penny post, which delivered letters and parcels six or eight times a day in the busy and crowded streets near the Exchange, and four times a day in the outskirts of the capital. This improvement was, as usual, strenuously resisted. The porters complained that their interests were attacked, and tore down the placards in which the scheme was announced to the public. The excitement caused by Godfrey's death, and by the discovery of Coleman's papers, was then at the height. A cry was therefore raised that the penny post was a Popish contrivance. The great Doctor Oates, it was affirmed, had hinted a suspicion that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the scheme, and that the bags, if examined, would be found full of treason.¹ The utility of the enterprise was, however, so great and obvious that all opposition proved fruitless. As soon as it became clear that the speculation would be lucrative, the Duke of York complained of it as an infraction of his monopoly; ²⁰ and the courts of law decided in his favour.²

The revenue of the Post Office was from the first constantly increasing. In the year of the Restoration a committee of the House of Commons, after strict enquiry, had estimated the net receipt at about ²⁵ twenty thousand pounds. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, the net receipt was little short of fifty thousand pounds; and this was then thought a stupendous sum. The gross receipt was about seventy thousand pounds. The charge for conveying ³⁰ a single letter was twopence for eighty miles, and threepence for a longer distance. The postage increased in proportion to the weight of the packet.³

¹ Smith's Current Intelligence, March 30. and April 3. 1680.

² Angliæ Metropolis, 1690.

³ Commons' Journals, Sept. 4. 1660, March 1. 1683; Chamberlayne, 1684; Davenant on the Public Revenue, Discourse IV.

At present a single letter is carried to the extremity of Scotland or of Ireland for a penny; and the monopoly of post horses has long ceased to exist. Yet the gross annual receipts of the department amount to more than eighteen hundred thousand ⁵ pounds, and the net receipts to more than seven hundred thousand pounds. It is, therefore, scarcely possible to doubt that the number of letters now conveyed by mail is seventy times the number which was so conveyed at the time of the accession of 10 James the Second.¹

*News
papers*

No part of the load which the old mails carried out was more important than the newsletters. In 1685 nothing like the London daily paper of our time existed, or could exist. Neither the necessary ¹⁵ capital nor the necessary skill was to be found. Freedom too was wanting, a want as fatal as that of either capital or skill. The press was not indeed at that moment under a general censorship. The licensing act, which had been passed soon ²⁰ after the Restoration, had expired in 1679. Any person might therefore print, at his own risk, a history, a sermon, or a poem, without the previous approbation of any officer; but the Judges were unanimously of opinion that this liberty did not ²⁵ extend to Gazettes, and that, by the common law of England, no man, not authorised by the crown, had a right to publish political news.² While the Whig party was still formidable, the government thought it expedient occasionally to ³⁰ connive at the violation of this rule. During the great battle of the Exclusion Bill, many newspapers were suffered to appear, the Protestant

¹ I have left the text as it stood in 1848. In the year 1856 the gross receipt of the Post Office was more than 2,800,000*l.*; and the net receipt was about 1,200,000*l.* The number of letters conveyed by post was 478,000,000. (1857.)

² London Gazette, May 5. and 17. 1680.

Intelligence, the Current Intelligence, the Domestic Intelligence, the True News, the London Mercury.¹ None of these was published oftener than twice a week. None exceeded in size a single small leaf. The quantity of matter which one of them contained in a year was not more than is often found in two numbers of the Times. After the defeat of the Whigs it was no longer necessary for the King to be sparing in the use of that which all his Judges had pronounced to be his undoubted prerogative. At the close of his reign no newspaper was suffered to appear without his allowance: and his allowance was given exclusively to the London Gazette. The London Gazette came out only on Mondays and Thursdays. The contents generally were a royal proclamation, two or three Tory addresses, notices of two or three promotions, an account of a skirmish between the imperial troops and the Janissaries on the Danube, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cockfight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog. The whole made up two pages of moderate size. Whatever was communicated respecting matters of the highest moment was communicated in the most meagre and formal style. Sometimes, indeed, when the government was disposed to gratify the public curiosity respecting an important transaction, a broadside was put forth giving fuller details than could be found in the Gazette: but neither the Gazette nor any supplementary broadside printed by authority ever contained any intelligence which it did not suit the purposes of the Court to publish. The most important parliamentary debates, the most important state trials, recorded in our history, were passed over in profound

¹ There is a very curious, and, I should think, unique collection of these papers in the British Museum.

silence.¹ In the capital the coffee houses supplied in some measure the place of a journal. Thither the Londoners flocked, as the Athenians of old flocked to the market place, to hear whether there was any news. There men might learn how brutally a Whig had been treated the day before in Westminster Hall, what horrible accounts the letters from Edinburgh gave of the torturing of Covenanters, how grossly the Navy Board had cheated the crown in the victualling of the fleet, and what grave charges the Lord Privy Seal had brought against the Treasury in the matter of the hearth money. But people who lived at a distance from the great theatre of political contention could be kept regularly informed of what was passing there only by means of newsletters. To prepare such letters became a calling in London, as it now is among the natives of India. The news-writer rambled from coffee room to coffee room, collecting reports, squeezed himself into the Sessions House at the Old Bailey if there was an interesting trial, nay, perhaps obtained admission to the gallery of Whitehall, and noticed how the King and Duke looked. In this way he gathered materials for weekly epistles destined to enlighten some county town or some bench of rustic magistrates. Such were the sources from which the inhabitants of the largest provincial cities, and the great body of the gentry and clergy, learned almost all that they knew of the history of their own time. We must suppose that at Cambridge there were as many persons curious to know what was passing in the world as at almost any place in the kingdom, out of London. Yet at Cambridge, during a great part of the reign of Charles the Second, the Doctors of Laws and the Masters of

¹ For example, there is not a word in the Gazette about the important parliamentary proceedings of November 1685, or about the trial and acquittal of the seven Bishops.

Arts had no regular supply of news except through the London Gazette. At length the services of one of the collectors of intelligence in the capital were employed. That was a memorable day on which the first newsletter from London was laid on the table of the only coffee room in Cambridge.¹ At the seat of a man of fortune in the country the newsletter was impatiently expected. Within a week after it had arrived it had been thumbed by twenty families. It furnished the neighbouring squires with matter for talk over their October, and the neighbouring rectors with topics for sharp sermons against Whiggery or Popery. Many of these curious journals might doubtless still be detected by a diligent search in the archives of old families. Some are to be found in our public libraries; and one series, which is not the least valuable part of the literary treasures collected by Sir James Mackintosh, will be occasionally quoted in the course of this work.²

It is scarcely necessary to say that there were then no provincial newspapers. Indeed, except in the capital and at the two Universities, there was scarcely a printer in the kingdom. The only press in England north of Trent appears to have been at York.³

¹ Roger North's *Life of Dr. John North*. On the subject of newsletters, see the *Examen*, 133.

² I take this opportunity of expressing my warm gratitude to the family of my dear and honoured friend Sir James Mackintosh for confiding to me the materials collected by him at a time when he meditated a work similar to that which I have undertaken. I have never seen, and I do not believe that there anywhere exists, within the same compass, so noble a collection of extracts from public and private archives. The judgment with which Sir James, in great masses of the rudest ore of history, selected what was valuable, and rejected what was worthless, can be fully appreciated only by one who has toiled after him in the same mine.

³ *Life of Thomas Gent*. A complete list of all printing houses in 1724 will be found in *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth century*. There had then been a great increase within a few years in the number of presses; and yet there were thirty-four counties in which there was no printer, one of those counties being Lancashire.

*The
Observer*

It was not only by means of the London Gazette that the government undertook to furnish political instruction to the people. That journal contained a scanty supply of news without comment. Another journal, published under the patronage of the court, 5 consisted of comment without news. This paper, called the *Observer*, was edited by an old Tory pamphleteer named Roger Lestrangle. Lestrangle was by no means deficient in readiness and shrewdness; and his diction, though coarse, and disfigured by a 10 mean and flippant jargon which then passed for wit in the green room and the tavern, was not without keenness and vigour. But his nature, at once ferocious and ignoble, showed itself in every line that he penned. When the first *Observers* appeared there 15 was some excuse for his acrimony. For the Whigs were then powerful; and he had to contend against numerous adversaries, whose unscrupulous violence might seem to justify unsparing retaliation. But in 1685 all opposition had been crushed. A generous 20 spirit would have disdained to insult a party which could not reply, and to aggravate the misery of prisoners, of exiles, of bereaved families: but from the malice of Lestrangle the grave was no hiding place, and the house of mourning no sanctuary. In the last 25 month of the reign of Charles the Second, William Jenkyn, an aged dissenting pastor of great note, who had been cruelly persecuted for no crime but that of worshipping God according to the fashion generally followed throughout Protestant Europe, died of hardships and privations in Newgate. The outbreak of popular sympathy could not be repressed. The corpse was followed to the grave by a train of a hundred and fifty coaches. Even courtiers looked sad. Even the unthinking King showed some signs of concern. Lestrangle alone set up a howl of savage exultation, laughed at the weak compassion of the Trimmers,

proclaimed that the blasphemous old impostor had met with a most righteous punishment, and vowed to wage war, not only to the death, but after death, with all the mock saints and martyrs.¹ Such was the spirit of the paper which was at this time the oracle of the Tory party, and especially of the parochial clergy.

Literature which could be carried by the post bag then formed the greater part of the intellectual nutriment ruminated by the country divines and country justices. The difficulty and expense of conveying large packets from place to place was so great, that an extensive work was longer in making its way from Paternoster Row to Devonshire or Lancashire than it now is in reaching Kentucky. How scantily a rural parsonage was then furnished, even with books the most necessary to a theologian, has already been remarked. The houses of the gentry were not more plentifully supplied. Few knights of the shire had libraries so good as may now perpetually be found in a servants' hall, or in the back parlour of a small shopkeeper. An esquire passed among his neighbours for a great scholar, if Hudibras and Baker's Chronicle, Tarlton's Jests and the Seven Champions of Christendom, lay in his hall window among the fishing rods and fowling pieces. No circulating library, no book society, then existed even in the capital: but in the capital those students who could not afford to purchase largely had a resource. The shops of the great booksellers, near Saint Paul's Churchyard, were crowded every day and all day long with readers; and a known customer was often permitted to carry a volume home. In the country there was no such accommodation; and every man was under the necessity of buying whatever he wished to read.²

¹ Observer, Jan. 29. and 31. 1685; Calamy's Life of Baxter; Nonconformist Memorial.

² Cotton seems, from his Angler, to have found room for his whole

Search
of
books

As to the lady of the manor and her daughters, their literary stores generally consisted of a prayer book and a receipt book. But in truth they lost little by living in rural seclusion. For, even in the highest ranks, and in those situations which afforded the greatest facilities for mental improvement, the English women of that generation were decidedly worse educated than they have been at any other time since the revival of learning. At an earlier period they had studied the masterpieces of ancient genius. In the present day they seldom bestow much attention on the dead languages; but they are familiar with the tongue of Pascal and Molière, with the tongue of Dante and Tasso, with the tongue of Goethe and Schiller; nor is there any purer or more graceful English than that which accomplished women now speak and write. But, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, the culture of the female mind seems to have been almost entirely neglected. If a damsel had the least smattering of literature she was regarded as a prodigy. Ladies highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick witted, were unable to write a line in their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit.¹ Sect 1

The explanation may easily be found. Extravagant licentiousness, the natural effect of extravagant austerity, was now the mode; and licentiousness had

library in his hall window; and Cotton was a man of letters. Even when Franklin first visited London in 1724, circulating libraries were unknown there. The crowd at the booksellers' shops in Little Britain is mentioned by Roger North in his life of his brother John.

¹ One instance will suffice. Queen Mary, the daughter of James, had excellent natural abilities, had been educated by a Bishop, was fond of history and poetry, and was regarded by very eminent men as a superior woman. There is, in the library at the Hague, a superb English Bible which was delivered to her when she was crowned in Westminster Abbey. In the titlepage are these words in her own hand, "This book was given the King and I, at our coronation. Marie R."

produced its ordinary effect, the moral and intellectual degradation of women. To their personal beauty, it was the fashion to pay rude and impudent homage. But the admiration and desire which they inspired were seldom mingled with respect, with affection, or with any chivalrous sentiment. The qualities which fit them to be companions, advisers, confidential friends, rather repelled than attracted the libertines of Whitehall. In that court a maid of honour, who dressed in such a manner as to do full justice to a white bosom, who ogled significantly, who danced voluptuously, who excelled in pert repartee, who was not ashamed to romp with Lords of the Bedchamber and Captains of the Guards, to sing sly verses with sly expression, or to put on a page's dress for a frolic, was more likely to be followed and admired, more likely to be honoured with royal attentions, more likely to win a rich and noble husband than Jane Grey or Lucy Hutchinson would have been. In such circumstances the standard of female attainments was necessarily low; and it was more dangerous to be above that standard than to be beneath it. Extreme ignorance and frivolity were thought less unbecoming in a lady than the slightest tincture of pedantry. Of the too celebrated women whose faces we still admire on the walls of Hampton Court, few indeed were in the habit of reading anything more valuable than acrostics, lampoons, and translations of the Clelia and the Grand Cyrus.

The literary acquirements, even of the accomplished gentlemen of that generation, seem to have been somewhat less solid and profound than at an earlier or a later period. Greek learning, at least, did not flourish among us in the days of Charles the Second, as it had flourished before the civil war, or as it again flourished long after the Revolution. There were undoubtedly scholars to whom the whole

2. *mean in which the subject is then to be done a word or two*

See the Lib. acq. 2
John New

Greek literature, from Homer to Photius, was familiar : but such scholars were to be found almost exclusively among the clergy resident at the Universities, and even at the Universities were few, and were not fully appreciated. At Cambridge it was not thought by any means necessary that a divine should be able to read the Gospels in the original.¹ Nor was the standard at Oxford higher. When, in the reign of William the Third, Christ Church rose up as one man to defend the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, that great college, then considered as the first seat of philology in the kingdom, could not muster such a stock of Attic learning as is now possessed by several youths at every great public school. It may easily be supposed that a dead language, neglected at the Universities, was not much studied by men of the world. In a former age the poetry and eloquence of Greece had been the delight of Raleigh and Falkland. In a later age the poetry and eloquence of Greece were the delight of Pitt and Fox, of Windham and Grenville. But during the latter part of the seventeenth century there was in England scarcely one eminent statesman who could read with enjoyment a page of Sophocles or Plato.

Good Latin scholars were numerous. The language of Rome, indeed, had not altogether lost its imperial prerogatives, and was still, in many parts of Europe, almost indispensable to a traveller or a negotiator. To speak it well was therefore a much more common accomplishment than in our time ; and neither Oxford nor Cambridge wanted poets who, on a great occasion, could lay at the foot of the throne happy imitations of the verses in which Virgil and Ovid had celebrated the greatness of Augustus.

¹ Roger North tells us that his brother John, who was Greek professor at Cambridge, complained bitterly of the general neglect of the Greek tongue among the academical clergy.

Yet even the Latin was giving way to a younger rival. France united at that time almost every species of ascendancy. Her military glory was at the height. She had vanquished mighty coalitions. She had dictated treaties. She had subjugated great cities and provinces. She had forced the Castilian pride to yield her the precedence. She had summoned Italian princes to prostrate themselves at her footstool. Her authority was supreme in all matters of good breeding, from a duel to a minuet. She determined how a gentleman's coat must be cut, how long his peruke must be, whether his heels must be high or low, and whether the lace on his hat must be broad or narrow. In literature she gave law to the world. The fame of her great writers filled Europe. No other country could produce a tragic poet equal to Racine, a comic poet equal to Molière, a trifler so agreeable as La Fontaine, a rhetorician so skillful as Bossuet. The literary glory of Italy and of Spain had set; that of Germany had not yet dawned. The genius, therefore, of the eminent men who adorned Paris shone forth with a splendour which was set off to full advantage by contrast. France, indeed, had at that time an empire over mankind, such as even the Roman Republic never attained. For, when Rome was politically dominant, she was in arts and letters the humble pupil of Greece. France had, over the surrounding countries, at once the ascendancy which Rome had over Greece, and the ascendancy which Greece had over Rome. French was fast becoming the universal language, the language of fashionable society, the language of diplomacy. At several courts princes and nobles spoke it more accurately and politely than their mother tongue. In our island there was less of this servility than on the Continent. Neither our good nor our bad qualities were those of imitators. Yet even here homage was

paid, awkwardly indeed and sullenly, to the literary supremacy of our neighbours. The melodious Tuscan, so familiar to the gallants and ladies of the court of Elizabeth, sank into contempt. A gentleman who quoted Horace or Terence was considered in good company as a pompous pedant. But to garnish his conversation with scraps of French was the best proof which he could give of his parts and attainments.¹ New canons of criticism, new models of style came into fashion. The quaint ingenuity which had deformed the verses of Donne, and had been a blemish on those of Cowley, disappeared from our poetry. Our prose became less majestic, less artfully involved, less variously musical than that of an earlier age, but more lucid, more easy, and better fitted for controversy and narrative. In these changes it is impossible not to recognise the influence of French precept and of French example. Great masters of our language, in their most dignified compositions, affected to use French words, when English words, quite as expressive and sonorous, were at hand²: and from France was imported the tragedy in rhyme, an exotic which, in our soil, drooped, and speedily died. It would have been well if our writers had also copied the decorum which their great French contemporaries, with few exceptions, preserved; for the profligacy of the English plays, satires, songs, and novels of

*Immortal
of the
classical*

¹ Butler, in a satire of great asperity, says,

“For, though to smatter words of Greek
And Latin be the rhetorique
Of pedants counted, and vainglorious,
To smatter French is meritorious.”

² The most offensive instance which I remember is in a poem on the coronation of Charles the Second by Dryden, who certainly could not plead poverty as an excuse for borrowing words from any foreign tongue:—

“Hither in summer evenings you repair
To taste the fraîcheur of the cooler air.”

that age is a deep blot on our national fame. The evil may easily be traced to its source. The wits and the Puritans had never been on friendly terms. There was no sympathy between the two classes. They looked on the whole system of human life from different points and in different lights. The earnest of each was the jest of the other. The pleasures of each were the torments of the other. To the stern precisian even the innocent sport of the fancy seemed a crime. To light and festive natures the solemnity of the zealous brethren furnished copious matter of ridicule. From the Reformation to the civil war, almost every writer, gifted with a fine sense of the ludicrous, had taken some opportunity of assailing the straighthaired, snuffling, whining saints, who christened their children out of the Book of Nehemiah, who groaned in spirit at the sight of Jack in the Green, and who thought it impious to taste plum porridge on Christmas day. At length a time came when the laughers began to look grave in their turn. The rigid, ungainly zealots, after having furnished much good sport during two generations, rose up in arms, conquered, ruled, and, grimly smiling, trod down under their feet the whole crowd of mockers. The wounds inflicted by gay and petulant malice were retaliated with the gloomy and implacable malice peculiar to bigots who mistake their own rancour for virtue. The theatres were closed. The players were flogged. The press was put under the guardianship of austere licensers. The Muses were banished from their own favourite haunts, Cambridge and Oxford. Cowley, Crashaw, and Cleveland were ejected from their fellowships. The young candidate for academical honours was no longer required to write Ovidian epistles or Virgilian pastorals, but was strictly interrogated by a synod of lowering Supralapsarians as to the day and hour when he experienced

the new birth. Such a system was of course fruit-
ful of hypocrites. Under sober clothing and under
visages composed to the expression of austerity lay
hid during several years the intense desire of license
and of revenge. At length that desire was gratified. 5
The Restoration emancipated thousands of minds
from a yoke which had become insupportable. The
old fight recommenced, but with an animosity alto-
gether new. It was now not a sportive combat, but
a war to the death. The Roundhead had no better 10
quarter to expect from those whom he had persecuted
than a cruel slavedriver can expect from insurgent
slaves still bearing the marks of his collars and his
scourges.

The war between wit and Puritanism soon became 15
a war between wit and morality. The hostility
excited by a grotesque caricature of virtue did not
spare virtue herself. Whatever the canting Round-
head had regarded with reverence was insulted.
Whatever he had proscribed was favoured. Because 20
he had been scrupulous about trifles, all scruples were
treated with derision. Because he had covered his
failings with the mask of devotion, men were
encouraged to obtrude with Cynic impudence all
their most scandalous vices on the public eye. 25
Because he had punished illicit love with barbarous
severity, virgin purity and conjugal fidelity were
made a jest. To that sanctimonious jargon which was
his Shibboleth, was opposed another jargon not less
absurd and much more odious. As he never opened 30
his mouth except in scriptural phrase, the new breed
of wits and fine gentlemen never opened their mouths
without uttering ribaldry of which a porter would
now be ashamed, and without calling on their Maker
to curse them, sink them, confound them, blast them, 35—
and damn them.

It is not strange, therefore, that our polite litera-

ture, when it revived with the revival of the old civil and ecclesiastical polity, should have been profoundly immoral. A few eminent men, who belonged to an earlier and better age, were exempt from the general contagion. The verse of Waller still breathed the sentiments which had animated a more chivalrous generation. Cowley, distinguished as a loyalist and as a man of letters, raised his voice courageously against the immorality which disgraced both letters and loyalty. A mightier poet, tried at once by pain, danger, poverty, obloquy, and blindness, meditated, undisturbed by the obscene tumult which raged all around him, a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal Virtues whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold. The vigorous and fertile genius of Butler, if it did not altogether escape the prevailing infection, took the disease in a mild form. But these were men whose minds had been trained in a world which had passed away. They gave place in no long time to a younger generation of wits; and of that generation, from Dryden down to Dufey, the common characteristic was hardhearted, shameless, swaggering licentiousness, at once inelegant and inhuman. The influence of these writers was doubtless noxious, yet less noxious than it would have been had they been less depraved. The poison which they administered was so strong that it was, in no long time, rejected with nausea. None of them understood the dangerous art of associating images of unlawful pleasure with all that is endearing and ennobling. None of them was aware that a certain decorum is essential even to voluptuousness, that drapery may be more alluring than exposure, and that the imagination may be far more powerfully moved by delicate hints which impel it to

exert itself, than by gross descriptions which it takes in passively.

The spirit of the Antipuritan reaction pervades almost the whole polite literature of the reign of Charles the Second. But the very quintessence of that spirit will be found in the comic drama. The playhouses, shut by the meddling fanatic in the day of his power, were again crowded. To their old attractions new and more powerful attractions had been added. Scenery, dresses, and decorations, such as would now be thought mean or absurd, but such as would have been esteemed incredibly magnificent by those who, early in the seventeenth century, sat on the filthy benches of the Hope, or under the thatched roof of the Rose, dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The fascination of sex was called in to aid the fascination of art: and the young spectator saw, with emotions unknown to the contemporaries of Shakspeare and Jonson, tender and sprightly heroines personated by lovely women. From the day on which the theatres were reopened they became seminaries of vice; and the evil propagated itself. The profligacy of the representations soon drove away sober people. The frivolous and dissolute who remained required every year stronger and stronger stimulants. Thus the artists corrupted the spectators, and the spectators the artists, till the turpitude of the drama became such as must astonish all who are not aware that extreme relaxation is the natural effect of extreme restraint, and that an age of hypocrisy is, in the regular course of things, followed by an age of impudence.

Nothing is more characteristic of the times than the care with which the poets contrived to put all their loosest verses into the mouths of women. The compositions in which the greatest license was taken were the epilogues. They were almost always recited

by favourite actresses; and nothing charmed the depraved audience so much as to hear lines grossly indecent repeated by a beautiful girl, who was supposed to have not yet lost her innocence.¹

Our theatre was indebted in that age for many plots and characters to Spain, to France, and to the old English masters: but whatever our dramatists touched they tainted. In their imitations the houses of Calderon's stately and highspirited Castilian gentlemen became sties of vice, Shakspeare's Viola a procuress, Molière's Misanthrope a ravisher, Molière's Agnes an adulteress. Nothing could be so pure or so heroic but that it became foul and ignoble by transfusion through those foul and ignoble minds.

Such was the state of the drama; and the drama was the department of polite literature in which a poet had the best chance of obtaining a subsistence by his pen. The sale of books was so small that a man of the greatest name could hardly expect more than a pittance for the copyright of the best performance. There cannot be a stronger instance than the fate of Dryden's last production, the Fables. That volume was published when he was universally admitted to be the chief of living English poets. It contains about twelve thousand lines. The versification is admirable, the narratives and descriptions full of life. To this day Palamon and Arcite, Cymon and Iphigenia, Theodore and Honoria, are the delight both of critics and of schoolboys. The collection includes Alexander's Feast, the noblest ode in our language. For the copyright Dryden received two hundred and fifty pounds, less than in our days has sometimes been paid for two articles in a review.² Nor does the bargain seem to have been a hard one.

¹ Jeremy Collier has censured this odious practice with his usual force and keenness.

² The contract will be found in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Dryden.

For the book went off slowly ; and the second edition was not required till the author had been ten years in his grave. By writing for the theatre it was possible to earn a much larger sum with much less trouble. Southern made seven hundred pounds by one play.¹ 5 Otway was raised from beggary to temporary affluence by the success of his *Don Carlos*.² Shadwell cleared a hundred and thirty pounds by a single representation of the *Squire of Alsatia*.³ The consequence was that every man who had to live by his wit wrote 10 plays, whether he had any internal vocation to write plays or not. It was thus with Dryden. As a satirist he has rivalled Juvenal. As a didactic poet he perhaps might, with care and meditation, have rivalled Lucretius. Of lyric poets he is, if not the most 15 sublime, the most brilliant and spiritstirring. But nature, profuse to him of many rare gifts, had withheld from him the dramatic faculty. Nevertheless all the energies of his best years were wasted on dramatic composition. He had too much judgment 20 not to be aware that in the power of exhibiting character by means of dialogue he was deficient. That deficiency he did his best to conceal, sometimes by surprising and amusing incidents, sometimes by stately declamation, sometimes by harmonious num- 25 bers, sometimes by ribaldry but too well suited to the taste of a profane and licentious pit. Yet he never obtained any theatrical success equal to that which rewarded the exertions of some men far inferior to him in general powers. He thought himself fortunate 30 if he cleared a hundred guineas by a play ; a scanty remuneration, yet apparently larger than he could have earned in any other way by the same quantity of labour.⁴

¹ See the *Life of Southern*, by Shiels.

² See *Rochester's Trial of the Poets*.

³ Some Account of the English Stage.

⁴ *Life of Southern*, by Shiels.

The recompense which the wits of that age could obtain from the public was so small, that they were under the necessity of eking out their incomes by levying contributions on the great. Every rich and goodnatured lord was pestered by authors with a mendicancy so importunate, and a flattery so abject, as may in our time seem incredible. The patron to whom a work was inscribed was expected to reward the writer with a purse of gold. The fee paid for the dedication of a book was often much larger than the sum which any publisher would give for the copyright. Books were therefore frequently printed merely that they might be dedicated. This traffic in praise produced the effect which might have been expected. Adulation pushed to the verge, sometimes of nonsense, and sometimes of impiety, was not thought to disgrace a poet. Independence, veracity, selfrespect, were things not required by the world from him. In truth, he was in morals something between a pandar and a beggar.

To the other vices which degraded the literary character was added, towards the close of the reign of Charles the Second, the most savage intemperance of party spirit. The wits, as a class, had been impelled by their old hatred of Puritanism to take the side of the court, and had been found useful allies. Dryden, in particular, had done good service to the government. His *Absalom and Achitophel*, the greatest satire of modern times, had amazed the town, had made its way with unprecedented rapidity even into rural districts, and had, wherever it appeared, bitterly annoyed the Exclusionists, and raised the courage of the Tories. But we must not, in the admiration which we naturally feel for noble diction and versification, forget the great distinctions of good and evil. The spirit by which Dryden and several of his compeers were at this time animated against the

Whigs deserves to be called fiendish. The servile Judges and Sheriffs of those evil days could not shed blood as fast as the poets cried out for it. Calls for more victims, hideous jests on hanging, bitter taunts on those who, having stood by the King in the hour of danger, now advised him to deal mercifully and generously by his vanquished enemies, were publicly recited on the stage, and, that nothing might be wanting to the guilt and the shame, were recited by women, who, having long been taught to discard all modesty, were now taught to discard all compassion.¹

*State of
Science*

It is a remarkable fact that, while the lighter literature of England was thus becoming a nuisance and a national disgrace, the English genius was effecting in science a revolution which will, to the end of time, be reckoned among the highest achievements of the human intellect. Bacon had sown the good seed in a sluggish soil and an ungenial season. He had not expected an early crop, and in his last testament had solemnly bequeathed his fame to the next age. During a whole generation his philosophy had, amidst tumults, wars, and proscriptions, been slowly ripening in a few well constituted minds. While factions were struggling for dominion over each other, a small body of sages had turned away with benevolent disdain from the conflict, and had devoted themselves to the nobler work of extending the dominion of man over matter. As soon as tranquillity was restored, these teachers easily found attentive audience. For the discipline through which the nation had passed had brought the public mind to a temper well fitted for the reception of the Verulamian doctrine. The civil troubles had stimulated the faculties of the

¹ If any reader thinks my expressions too severe, I would advise him to read Dryden's Epitogue to the Duke of Guise, and to observe that it was spoken by a woman.

educated classes, and had called forth a restless activity and an insatiable curiosity, such as had not before been known among us. Yet the effect of those troubles was that schemes of political and religious reform were generally regarded with suspicion and 5 contempt. During twenty years the chief employment of busy and ingenious men had been to frame constitutions with first magistrates, without first magistrates, with hereditary senates, with senates appointed by lot, with annual senates, with perpetual 10 senates. In these plans nothing was omitted. All the detail, all the nomenclature, all the ceremonial of the imaginary government was fully set forth, Polemarchs and Phylarchs, Tribes and Galaxies, the Lord Archon and the Lord Strategus. Which ballot 15 boxes were to be green and which red, which balls were to be of gold and which of silver, which magistrates were to wear hats and which black velvet caps with peaks, how the mace was to be carried and when the heralds were to uncover, these, and a 20 hundred more such trifles, were gravely considered and arranged by men of no common capacity and learning.¹ But the time for these visions had gone by; and, if any steadfast republican still continued to amuse himself with them, fear of public derision 25 and of a criminal information generally induced him to keep his fancies to himself. It was now unpopular and unsafe to mutter a word against the fundamental laws of the monarchy: but daring and ingenious men might indemnify themselves by treating with disdain 30 what had lately been considered as the fundamental laws of nature. The torrent which had been dammed up in one channel rushed violently into another. The revolutionary spirit, ceasing to operate in politics, began to exert itself with unprecedented vigour and 35 hardihood in every department of physics. The year

¹ See particularly Harrington's *Oceana*.

1660, the era of the restoration of the old constitution, is also the era from which dates the ascendancy of the new philosophy. In that year the Royal Society, destined to be a chief agent in a long series of glorious and salutary reforms, began to exist.¹ In a few months experimental science became all the mode. The transfusion of blood, the ponderation of air, the fixation of mercury, succeeded to that place in the public mind which had been lately occupied by the controversies of the Rota. Dreams of perfect forms of government made way for dreams of wings with which men were to fly from the Tower to the Abbey, and of doublekeeled ships which were never to founder in the fiercest storm. All classes were hurried along by the prevailing sentiment. Cavalier and Roundhead, Churchman and Puritan, were for once allied. Divines, jurists, statesmen, nobles, princes, swelled the triumph of the Baconian philosophy. Poets sang with emulous fervour the approach of the golden age. Cowley, in lines weighty with thought and resplendent with wit, urged the chosen seed to take possession of the promised land flowing with milk and honey, that land which their great deliverer and lawgiver had seen, as from the summit of Pisgah, but had not been permitted to enter.² Dryden, with more zeal than knowledge, joined his voice to the general acclamation, and foretold things which neither he nor anybody else understood. The Royal Society, he predicted, would soon lead us to the extreme verge of the globe, and there delight us with a better view of the moon.³ Two able and

¹ See Sprat's History of the Royal Society.

² Cowley's Ode to the Royal Society.

³ "Then we upon the globe's last verge shall go,
And view the ocean leaning on the sky;
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry."

Annus Mirabilis, 164.

aspiring prelates, Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, and Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, were conspicuous among the leaders of the movement. Its history was eloquently written by a younger divine, who was rising to high distinction in his profession, Thomas Sprat,⁵ afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Both Chief Justice Hale and Lord Keeper Guildford stole some hours from the business of their courts to write on hydrostatics. Indeed it was under the immediate direction of Guildford that the first barometers ever exposed¹⁰ to sale in London were constructed.¹ Chemistry divided, for a time, with wine and love, with the stage and the gaming table, with the intrigues of a courtier and the intrigues of a demagogue, the attention of the fickle Buckingham. Rupert has the credit¹⁵ of having invented mezzotinto; and from him is named that curious bubble of glass which has long amused children and puzzled philosophers. Charles himself had a laboratory at Whitehall, and was far more active and attentive there than at the council²⁰ board. It was almost necessary to the character of a fine gentleman to have something to say about airpumps and telescopes; and even fine ladies, now and then, thought it becoming to affect a taste for science, went in coaches and six to visit the Gresham²⁵ curiosities, and broke forth into cries of delight at finding that a magnet really attracted a needle, and that a microscope really made a fly look as large as a sparrow.² *Optic Sections March 16-1920*

In this, as in every great stir of the human mind,³⁰ there was doubtless something which might well move a smile. It is the universal law that whatever pursuit, whatever doctrine, becomes fashionable, shall lose a portion of that dignity which it had possessed² while it was confined to a small but earnest minority,³⁵

¹ North's Life of Guildford.

² Pepys's Diary, May 30. 1667.

and was loved for its own sake alone. It is true that the follies of some persons who, without any real aptitude for science, professed a passion for it, furnished matter of contemptuous mirth to a few malignant satirists who belonged to the preceding generation, and were not disposed to unlearn the lore of their youth.¹ But it is not less true that the great work of interpreting nature was performed by the English of that age as it had never before been performed in any age by any nation. The spirit of Francis Bacon was abroad, a spirit admirably compounded of audacity and sobriety. There was a strong persuasion that the whole world was full of secrets of high moment to the happiness of man, and that man had, by his Maker, been entrusted with the key which, rightly used, would give access to them. There was at the same time a conviction that in physics it was impossible to arrive at the knowledge of general laws except by the careful observation of particular facts. Deeply impressed with these great truths, the professors of the new philosophy applied themselves to their task, and, before a quarter of a century had expired, they had given ample earnest of what has since been achieved. Already a reform of agriculture had been commenced. New vegetables were cultivated. New implements of husbandry were employed. New manures were applied to the soil.² Evelyn had, under the formal sanction of the Royal Society, given instruction to his countrymen in planting. Temple, in his intervals of leisure, had tried many experiments in horticulture, and had proved

¹ Butler was, I think, the only man of real genius who, between the Restoration and the Revolution, showed a bitter enmity to the new philosophy, as it was then called. See the Satire on the Royal Society, and the Elephant in the Moon.

² The eagerness with which the agriculturists of that age tried experiments and introduced improvements is well described by Aubrey. See the Natural History of Wiltshire, 1685.

that many delicate fruits, the natives of more favoured climates, might, with the help of art, be grown on English ground. Medicine, which in France was still in abject bondage, and afforded an inexhaustible subject of just ridicule to Molière, had in England⁵ become an experimental and progressive science, and every day made some new advance, in defiance of Hippocrates and Galen. ✓ The attention of speculative men had been, for the first time, directed to the important subject of sanitary police. The great¹⁰ plague of 1665 induced them to consider with care the defective architecture, draining, and ventilation of the capital. The great fire of 1666 afforded an opportunity for effecting extensive improvements. The whole matter was diligently examined by the¹⁵ Royal Society; and to the suggestions of that body must be partly attributed the changes which, though far short of what the public welfare required, yet made a wide difference between the new and the old London, and probably put a final close to the ravages²⁰ of pestilence in our country.¹ At the same time one of the founders of the Society, Sir William Petty, created the science of political arithmetic, the humble but indispensable handmaid of political philosophy. No kingdom of nature was left unexplored. To that²⁵ period belong the chemical discoveries of Boyle, and the earliest botanical researches of Sloane. It was then that Ray made a new classification of birds and fishes, and that the attention of Woodward was first drawn towards fossils and shells. One after another³⁰ phantoms which had haunted the world through ages of darkness fled before the light. Astrology and alchemy became jests. Soon there was scarcely a county in which some of the Quorum did not smile contemptuously when an old woman was brought³⁵ before them for riding on broomsticks or giving cattle

¹ Sprat's History of the Royal Society.

the murrain. But it was in those noblest and most arduous departments of knowledge in which induction and mathematical demonstration cooperate for the discovery of truth, that the English genius won in that age the most memorable triumphs. John Wallis placed the whole system of statics on a new foundation. Edmund Halley investigated the properties of the atmosphere, the ebb and flow of the sea, the laws of magnetism, and the course of the comets; nor did he shrink from toil, peril, and exile in the cause of science. While he, on the rock of Saint Helena, mapped the constellations of the southern hemisphere, our national observatory was rising at Greenwich; and John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, was commencing that long series of observations which is never mentioned without respect and gratitude in any part of the globe. But the glory of these men, eminent as they were, is cast into the shade by the transcendent lustre of one immortal name. In Isaac Newton two kinds of intellectual power, which have little in common, and which are not often found together in a very high degree of vigour, but which nevertheless are equally necessary in the most sublime departments of physics, were united as they have never been united before or since. There may have been minds as happily constituted as his for the cultivation of pure mathematical science: there may have been minds as happily constituted for the cultivation of science purely experimental: but in no other mind have the demonstrative faculty and the inductive faculty coexisted in such supreme excellence and perfect harmony. Perhaps in the days of Scotists and Thomists even his intellect might have run to waste, as many intellects ran to waste which were inferior only to his. Happily the spirit of the age in which his lot was cast, gave the right direction to his mind; and his mind reacted with tenfold force on

the spirit of the age. In the year 1685 his fame, though splendid, was only dawning; but his genius was in the meridian. His great work, that work which effected a revolution in the most important provinces of natural philosophy, had been completed,⁵ but was not yet published, and was just about to be submitted to the consideration of the Royal Society. *Friend*

It is not very easy to explain why the nation which was so far before its neighbours in science should in art have been far behind them. Yet such¹⁰ was the fact. It is true that in architecture, an art which is half a science, an art in which none but a geometrician can excel, an art which has no standard of grace but what is directly or indirectly dependent on utility, an art of which the creations derive a part,¹⁵ at least, of their majesty from mere bulk, our country could boast of one truly great man, Christopher Wren; and the fire which laid London in ruins had given him an opportunity, unprecedented in modern history, of displaying his powers. The austere beauty²⁰ of the Athenian portico, the gloomy sublimity of the Gothic arcade, he was, like almost all his contemporaries, incapable of emulating, and perhaps incapable of appreciating; but no man, born on our side of the Alps, has imitated with so much success the²⁵ magnificence of the palacelike churches of Italy. Even the superb Lewis has left to posterity no work which can bear a comparison with Saint Paul's. But at the close of the reign of Charles the Second there was not a single English painter or statuary whose³⁰ name is now remembered. This sterility is somewhat mysterious; for painters and statuaries were by no means a despised or an ill paid class. Their social position was at least as high as at present. Their gains, when compared with the wealth of the nation³⁵ and with the remuneration of other descriptions of intellectual labour, were even larger than at present.

Indeed the munificent patronage which was extended to artists drew them to our shores in multitudes. Lely, who has preserved to us the rich curls, the full lips, and the languishing eyes of the frail beauties celebrated by Hamilton, was a Westphalian. He had died in 1680, having long lived splendidly, having received the honour of knighthood, and having accumulated a good estate out of the fruits of his skill. His noble collection of drawings and pictures was, after his decease, exhibited by the royal permission in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and was sold by auction for the almost incredible sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, a sum which bore a greater proportion to the fortunes of the rich men of that day than a hundred thousand pounds would bear to the fortunes of the rich men of our time.¹ Lely was succeeded by his countryman Godfrey Kneller, who was made first a knight and then a baronet, and who, after keeping up a sumptuous establishment, and after losing much money by unlucky speculations, was still able to bequeath a large fortune to his family. The two Vandeveldes, natives of Holland, had been tempted by English liberality to settle here, and had produced for the King and his nobles some of the finest sea pieces in the world. Another Dutchman, Simon Varelst, painted glorious sunflowers and tulips for prices such as had never before been known. Verrio, a Neapolitan, covered ceilings and staircases with Gorgons and Muses, Nymphs and Satyrs, Virtues and Vices, Gods quaffing nectar, and laurelled princes riding in triumph. The income which he derived from his performances enabled him to keep one of the most expensive tables in England. For his pieces at Windsor alone he received seven thousand pounds, a sum then sufficient to make a

¹ Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting; London Gazette, May 31. 1683; North's Life of Guildford.

gentleman of moderate wishes perfectly easy for life, a sum greatly exceeding all that Dryden, during a literary life of forty years, obtained from the book-sellers.¹ Verrio's assistant and successor, Lewis Laguerre, came from France. The two most celebrated sculptors of that day were also foreigners. Cibber, whose pathetic emblems of Fury and Melancholy still adorn Bedlam, was a Dane. Gibbons, to whose graceful fancy and delicate touch many of our palaces, colleges, and churches owe¹⁰ their finest decorations, was a Dutchman. Even the designs for the coin were made by French artists. Indeed, it was not till the reign of George the Second that our country could glory in a great painter; and George the Third was on the throne before she had¹⁵ reason to be proud of any of her sculptors. *See I Common people*

It is time that this description of the England which Charles the Second governed should draw to a close. Yet one subject of the highest moment still remains untouched. Nothing has yet been said of²⁰ the great body of the people, of those who held the ploughs, who tended the oxen, who toiled at the looms of Norwich, and squared the Portland stone for Saint Paul's. Nor can very much be said. [The most numerous class is precisely the class respecting²⁵ which we have the most meagre information.] In those times philanthropists did not yet regard it as a sacred duty, nor had demagogues yet found it a lucrative trade, to talk and write about the distress of the labourer. History was too much occupied with³⁰ courts and camps to spare a line for the hut of the peasant or the garret of the mechanic. The press now often sends forth in a day a greater quantity of discussion and declamation about the condition of the working man than was published during the twenty-³⁵

¹ The great prices paid to Varelst and Verrio are mentioned in Walpole's Anecdotes on Painting.

eight years which elapsed between the Restoration and the Revolution. But it would be a great error to infer from the increase of complaint that there has been any increase of misery.

*State of
the
Common
people*

The great criterion of the state of the common people is the amount of their wages; and as four fifths of the common people were, in the seventeenth century, employed in agriculture, it is especially important to ascertain what were then the wages of agricultural industry. On this subject we have the means of arriving at conclusions sufficiently exact for our purpose.

Sir William Petty, whose mere assertion carries great weight, informs us that a labourer was by no means in the lowest state who received for a day's work fourpence with food, or eightpence without food. Four shillings a week therefore were, according to Petty's calculation, fair agricultural wages.¹

That this calculation was not remote from the truth we have abundant proof. About the beginning of the year 1685 the justices of Warwickshire, in the exercise of a power entrusted to them by an Act of Elizabeth, fixed, at their quarter sessions, a scale of wages for the county, and notified that every employer who gave more than the authorised sum, and every working man who received more, would be liable to punishment. The wages of the common agricultural labourer, from March to September, were fixed at the precise amount mentioned by Petty, namely four shillings a week without food. From September to March the wages were to be only three and sixpence a week.²

But in that age, as in ours, the earnings of the peasant were very different in different parts of the kingdom. The wages of Warwickshire were probably about the average, and those of the counties—

¹ Petty's Political Arithmetic.

² Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. ; Archaeologia, vol. xi.

near the Scottish border below it: but there were more favoured districts. In the same year, 1685, a gentleman of Devonshire, named Richard Dunning, published a small tract, in which he described the condition of the poor of that county. That he understood his subject well it is impossible to doubt; for a few months later his work was reprinted, and was, by the magistrates assembled in quarter sessions at Exeter, strongly recommended to the attention of all parochial officers. According to him, the wages of the Devonshire peasant were, without food, about five shillings a week.¹

Still better was the condition of the labourer in the neighbourhood of Bury Saint Edmund's. The magistrates of Suffolk met there in the spring of 1682 to fix a rate of wages, and resolved that, where the labourer was not boarded, he should have five shillings a week in winter, and six in summer.²

In 1661 the justices at Chelmsford had fixed the wages of the Essex labourer, who was not boarded, at six shillings in winter and seven in summer. This seems to have been the highest remuneration given in the kingdom for agricultural labour between the Restoration and the Revolution; and it is to be observed that, in the year in which this order was made, the necessities of life were immoderately dear. Wheat was at seventy shillings the quarter, which would even now be considered as almost a famine price.³

These facts are in perfect accordance with another fact which seems to deserve consideration. It is evident that, in a country where no man can be compelled to become a soldier, the ranks of an army cannot be filled if the government offers much less

¹ Plain and easy Method showing how the office of Overseer of the Poor may be managed, by Richard Dunning; 1st edition, 1685; 2d edition, 1686.

² Cullum's History of Hawsted.

³ Ruggles on the Poor.

than the wages of common rustic labour. At present the pay and beer money of a private in a regiment of the line amount to seven shillings and sevenpence a week. This stipend, coupled with the hope of a pension, does not attract the English youth in sufficient numbers; and it is found necessary to supply the deficiency by enlisting largely from among the poorer population of Munster and Connaught. The pay of the private foot soldier in 1685 was only four shillings and eightpence a week; yet it is certain that the government in that year found no difficulty in obtaining many thousands of English recruits at very short notice. The pay of the private foot soldier in the army of the Commonwealth had been seven shillings a week, that is to say, as much as a corporal received under Charles the Second¹; and seven shillings a week had been found sufficient to fill the ranks with men decidedly superior to the generality of the people. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that, in the reign of Charles the Second, the ordinary wages of the peasant did not exceed four shillings a week; but that, in some parts of the kingdom, five shillings, six shillings, and, during the summer months, even seven shillings were paid. At present a district where a labouring man earns only seven shillings a week is thought to be in a state shocking to humanity. The average is very much higher; and, in prosperous counties, the weekly wages of husbandmen amount to twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen shillings.

The remuneration of workmen employed in manufactures has always been higher than that of the tillers of the soil. In the year 1680, a member of the House of Commons remarked that the high wages paid in this country made it impossible for our

¹ See, in Thurloe's State Papers, the memorandum of the Dutch Deputies, dated August 2, 1653.

textures to maintain a competition with the produce of the Indian looms. An English mechanic, he said, instead of slaving like a native of Bengal for a piece of copper, exacted a shilling a day.¹ Other evidence is extant, which proves that a shilling a day was the pay to which the English manufacturer then thought himself entitled, but that he was often forced to work for less. The common people of that age were not in the habit of meeting for public discussion, of haranguing, or of petitioning Parliament. No newspaper pleaded their cause. It was in rude rhyme that their love and hatred, their exultation and their distress found utterance. A great part of their history is to be learned only from their ballads. One of the most remarkable of the popular lays chaunted about the streets of Norwich and Leeds in the time of Charles the Second may still be read on the original broadside. It is the vehement and bitter cry of labour against capital. It describes the good old times when every artisan employed in the woollen manufacture lived as well as a farmer. But those times were past. Sixpence a day was now all that could be earned by hard labour at the loom. If the poor complained that they could not live on such a pittance, they were told that they were free to take it or leave it. For so miserable a recompense were the producers of wealth compelled to toil, rising early and lying down late, while the master clothier, eating, sleeping, and idling, became rich by their exertions. A shilling a day, the poet declares, is what the weaver would have, if justice were done.² We may therefore conclude that, in the generation which preceded the Revolution, a workman employed in the great staple

¹ The orator was Mr. John Basset, member for Barnstaple. See Smith's *Memoirs of Wool*. chapter lxviii.

² This ballad is in the British Museum. The precise year is not given; but the Imprimatur of Roger Lestrangle fixes the date sufficiently

manufacture of England thought himself fairly paid if he gained six shillings a week.

It may here be noticed that the practice of setting children prematurely to work, a practice which the state, the legitimate protector of those who cannot protect themselves, has, in our time, wisely and humanely interdicted, prevailed in the seventeenth century to an extent which, when compared with the extent of the manufacturing system, seems almost incredible. At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of six years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered eminently benevolent, mention, with exultation, the fact that, in that single city, boys and girls of very tender age created wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence by twelve thousand pounds a year.¹ The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is that the evils are, with scarcely an for my purpose. I will quote some of the lines. The master clothier is introduced speaking as follows :—

" In former ages we used to give,
So that our workfolks like farmers did live;
But the times are changed, we will make them know.

* * * * *

" We will make them to work hard for sixpence a day,
Though a shilling they deserve if they had their just pay;
If at all they murmur and say 'tis too small,
We bid them choose whether they'll work at all.
And thus we do gain all our wealth and estate,
By many poor men that work early and late.
Then hey for the clothing trade ! It goes on brave;
We scorn for to toyl and moyl, nor yet to slave.
Our workmen do work hard, but we live at ease,
We go when we will, and we come when we please."

¹ Chamberlayne's State of England ; Petty's Political Arithmetic, chapter viii. ; Dunning's Plain and Easy Method ; Firmin's Proposition for the Employing of the Poor. It ought to be observed that Firmin was an eminent philanthropist.

exception, old. That which is new is the intelligence which discerns and the humanity which remedies them.

When we pass from the weavers of cloth to a different class of artisans, our enquiries will still lead us to nearly the same conclusions. During several generations, the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital have kept a register of the wages paid to different classes of workmen who have been employed in the repairs of the building. From this valuable record it appears that, in the course of a hundred and twenty years, the daily earnings of the bricklayer have risen from half a crown to four and tenpence, those of the mason from half a crown to five and threepence, those of the carpenter from half a crown to five and five-pence, and those of the plumber from three shillings to five and sixpence.

It seems clear, therefore, that the wages of labour, estimated in money, were, in 1685, not more than half of what they now are; and there were few articles important to the working man of which the price was not, in 1685, more than half of what it now is. Beer was undoubtedly much cheaper in that age than at present. Meat was also cheaper, but was still so dear that hundreds of thousands of families scarcely knew the taste of it¹. In the cost of wheat there has been very little change. The average price of the quarter, during the last twelve years of Charles the Second, was fifty shillings. Bread, therefore, such as is now given to the inmates of a workhouse, was then seldom seen, even on the trencher of a yeoman or of a shopkeeper. The great majority of the nation lived almost entirely on rye, barley, and oats.

¹ King in his *Natural and Political Conclusions* roughly estimated the common people of England at 880,000 families. Of these families 440,000, according to him, ate animal food twice a week. The remaining 440,000 ate it not at all, or at most not oftener than once a week.

The produce of tropical countries, the produce of the mines, the produce of machinery, was positively dearer than at present. Among the commodities for which the labourer would have had to pay higher in 1685 than his posterity now pay were sugar, salt, 5 coals, candles, soap, shoes, stockings, and generally all articles of clothing and all articles of bedding. It may be added, that the old coats and blankets would have been, not only more costly, but less serviceable than the modern fabrics. 10

Pauperism

It must be remembered that those labourers who were able to maintain themselves and their families by means of wages were not the most necessitous members of the community. Beneath them lay a large class which could not subsist without some aid 15 from the parish. There can hardly be a more important test of the condition of the common people than the ratio which this class bears to the whole society. At present the men, women, and children who receive relief appear from the official returns to 20 be, in bad years, one tenth of the inhabitants of England, and, in good years, one thirteenth. Gregory King estimated them in his time at about a fourth; and this estimate, which all our respect for his authority will scarcely prevent us from calling ex- 25 travagant, was pronounced by Davenant eminently judicious.

We are not quite without the means of forming an estimate for ourselves. The poor rate was undoubtedly the heaviest tax borne by our ancestors in 30 those days. It was computed, in the reign of Charles the Second, at near seven hundred thousand pounds a year, much more than the produce either of the excise or of the customs, and little less than half the entire revenue of the crown. The poor rate went 35 on increasing rapidly, and appears to have risen in a short time to between eight and nine hundred

thousand a year, that is to say, to one sixth of what it now is. The population was then less than a third of what it now is. The minimum of wages, estimated in money, was half of what it now is; and we can therefore hardly suppose that the average allowance made to a pauper can have been more than half of what it now is. It seems to follow that the proportion of the English people which received parochial relief then must have been larger than the proportion which receives relief now. It is good to speak on such questions with diffidence: but it has certainly never yet been proved that pauperism was a less heavy burden or a less serious social evil during the last quarter of the seventeenth century than it is in our own time.¹

In one respect it must be admitted that the progress of civilisation has diminished the physical comforts of a portion of the poorest class. It has already been mentioned that, before the Revolution, many thousands of square miles, now enclosed and cultivated, were marsh, forest, and heath. Of this wild land much was, by law, common, and much of what was not common by law was worth so little that the proprietors suffered it to be common in fact. In such a tract, squatters and trespassers were tolerated

¹ Fourteenth Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, Appendix B. No. 2. Appendix C. No. 1. 1848. Of the two estimates of the poor rate mentioned in the text one was formed by Arthur Moore, the other, some years later, by Richard Dunning. Moore's estimate will be found in Davenant's Essay on Ways and Means; Dunning's in Sir Frederic Eden's valuable work on the poor. King and Davenant estimate the paupers and beggars in 1696 at the incredible number of 1,330,000 out of a population of 5,500,000. In 1846 the number of persons who received relief appears from the official returns to have been only 1,332,089 out of a population of about 17,000,000. It ought also to be observed that, in those returns, a pauper must very often be reckoned more than once.

I would advise the reader to consult De Foe's pamphlet entitled "Giving Alms no Charity," and the Greenwich tables which will be found in Mr. M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary under the head Prices.

to an extent now unknown. The peasant who dwelt there could, at little or no charge, procure occasionally some palatable addition to his hard fare, and provide himself with fuel for the winter. He kept a flock of geese on what is now an orchard rich with apple blossoms. He snared wild fowl on the fen which has long since been drained and divided into corn fields and turnip fields. He cut turf among the furze bushes on the moor which is now a meadow bright with clover and renowned for butter and cheese. The progress of agriculture and the increase of population necessarily deprived him of these privileges. But against this disadvantage a long list of advantages is to be set off. Of the blessings which civilisation and philosophy bring with them a large proportion is common to all ranks, and would, if withdrawn, be missed as painfully by the labourer as by the peer. The market-place which the rustic can now reach with his cart in an hour was, a hundred and sixty years ago, a day's journey from him. The street which now affords to the artisan, during the whole night, a secure, a convenient, and a brilliantly lighted walk was, a hundred and sixty years ago, so dark after sunset that he would not have been able to see his hand, so ill paved that he would have run constant risk of breaking his neck, and so ill watched that he would have been in imminent danger of being knocked down and plundered of his small earnings. Every bricklayer who falls from a scaffold, every sweeper of a crossing who is run over by a carriage, may now have his wounds dressed and his limbs set with a skill such as, a hundred and sixty years ago, all the wealth of a great lord like Ormond, or of a merchant prince like Clayton, could not have purchased. Some frightful diseases have been extirpated by science; and some have been banished by police. The term of human life has been lengthened over the

whole kingdom, and especially in the towns. The year 1685 was not accounted sickly; yet in the year 1685 more than one in twenty-three of the inhabitants of the capital died.¹ At present only one inhabitant of the capital in forty dies annually. The difference in salubrity between the London of the nineteenth century and the London of the seventeenth century is very far greater than the difference between London in an ordinary year and London in a year of cholera.

Still more important is the benefit which all orders of society, and especially the lower orders, have derived from the mollifying influence of civilisation on the national character. The groundwork of that character has indeed been the same through many generations, in the sense in which the groundwork of the character of an individual may be said to be the same when he is a rude and thoughtless schoolboy and when he is a refined and accomplished man. It is pleasing to reflect that the public mind of England has softened while it has ripened, and that we have, in the course of ages, become, not only a wiser, but also a kinder people. There is scarcely a page of the history or lighter literature of the seventeenth century which does not contain some proof that our ancestors were less humane than their posterity. The discipline of workshops, of schools, of private families, though not more efficient than at present, was infinitely harsher. Masters, well born and bred, were in the habit of beating their servants. Pedagogues knew no way of imparting knowledge but by beating their pupils. Husbands, of decent station, were not ashamed to beat their wives. The implacability of hostile factions was such as we can scarcely conceive. Whigs were disposed to murmur because Stafford was suffered to die without seeing his bowels burned before his face. Tories reviled

¹ The deaths were 23,222. Petty's Political Arithmetic.

and insulted Russell as his coach passed from the Tower to the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹ As little mercy was shown by the populace to sufferers of a humbler rank. If an offender was put into the pillory, it was well if he escaped with life from the shower of brickbats and paving stones.² If he was tied to the cart's tail, the crowd pressed round him, imploring the hangman to give it the fellow well, and make him howl.³ Gentlemen arranged parties of pleasure to Bridewell on court days for the purpose of seeing the wretched women who beat hemp there whipped.⁴ A man pressed to death for refusing to plead, a woman burned for coining, excited less sympathy than is now felt for a galled horse or an over-driven ox. Fights compared with which a boxing match is a refined and humane spectacle were among the favourite diversions of a large part of the town. Multitudes assembled to see gladiators hack each other to pieces with deadly weapons, and shouted with delight when one of the combatants lost a finger or an eye. The prisons were hells on earth, seminaries of every crime and of every disease. At the assizes the lean and yellow culprits brought with them from their cells to the dock an atmosphere of stench and pestilence which sometimes avenged them signally on bench, bar, and jury. But on all this misery society looked with profound indifference. Nowhere could be found that sensitive and restless compassion which has, in our time, extended a powerful protection to the factory child, to the Hindoo widow, to the negro slave, which pries into the stores and watercasks of every emigrant ship, which winces at every lash laid on the back of a drunken soldier, which will not

¹ Burnet, i. 560.

² Muggleton's Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit.

³ Tom Brown describes such a scene in lines which I do not venture to quote.

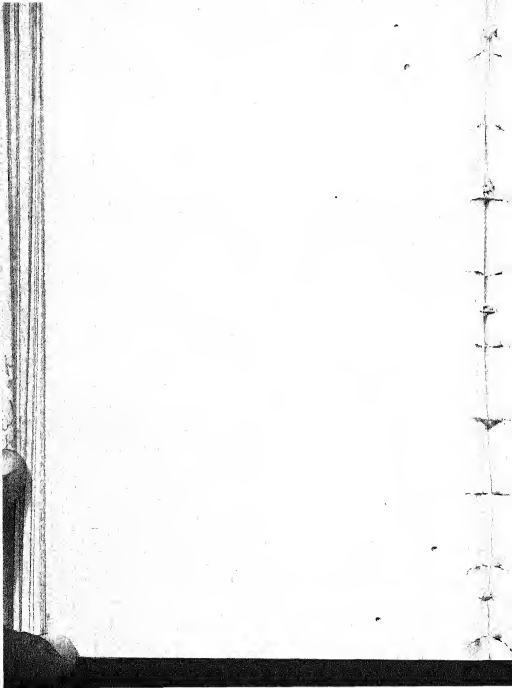
⁴ Ward's London Spy.

suffer the thief in the hulks to be ill fed or overworked, and which has repeatedly endeavoured to save the life even of the murderer. It is true that compassion ought, like all other feelings, to be under the government of reason, and has, for want of such government, produced some ridiculous and some deplorable effects. But the more we study the annals of the past, the more shall we rejoice that we live in a merciful age, in an age in which cruelty is abhorred, and in which pain, even when deserved, is inflicted reluctantly and from a sense of duty. Every class doubtless has gained largely by this great moral change: but the class which has gained most is the poorest, the most dependent, and the most defenceless.

The general effect of the evidence which has been submitted to the reader seems hardly to admit of doubt. Yet, in spite of evidence, many will still image to themselves the England of the Stuarts as a more pleasant country than the England in which we live. It may at first sight seem strange that society, while constantly moving forward with eager speed, should be constantly looking backward with tender regret. But these two propensities, inconsistent as they may appear, can easily be resolved into the same principle. Both spring from our impatience of the state in which we actually are. That impatience, while it stimulates us to surpass preceding generations, disposes us to overrate their happiness. It is, in some sense, unreasonable and ungrateful in us to be constantly discontented with a condition which is constantly improving. But, in truth, there is constant improvement precisely because there is constant discontent. If we were perfectly satisfied with the present, we should cease to contrive, to labour, and to save with a view to the future. And it is natural that, being dissatisfied with the present, we should form a too favourable estimate of the past.

In truth we are under a deception similar to that which misleads the traveller in the Arabian desert. Beneath the caravan all is dry and bare: but far in advance, and far in the rear, is the semblance of refreshing waters. The pilgrims hasten forward and find nothing but sand where an hour before they had seen a lake. They turn their eyes and see a lake where, an hour before, they were toiling through sand. A similar illusion seems to haunt nations through every stage of the long progress from poverty and barbarism to the highest degrees of opulence and civilisation. But, if we resolutely chase the mirage backward, we shall find it recede before us into the regions of fabulous antiquity. It is now the fashion to place the golden age of England in times when noblemen were destitute of comforts the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman, when farmers and shopkeepers breakfasted on loaves the very sight of which would raise a riot in a modern workhouse, when to have a clean shirt once a week was a privilege reserved for the higher class of gentry, when men died faster in the purest country air than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns, and when men died faster in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guiana. We too shall, in our turn, be outstripped, and in our turn be envied. It may well be, in the twentieth century, that the peasant of Dorsetshire may think himself miserably paid with twenty shillings a week; that the carpenter at Greenwich may receive ten shillings a day; that labouring men may be as little used to dine without meat as they now are to eat rye bread; that sanitary police and medical discoveries may have added several more years to the average length of human life; that numerous comforts and luxuries which are now unknown, or confined to a few, may be within the reach of every diligent and

thrifty working man. And yet it may then be the mode to assert that the increase of wealth and the progress of science have benefited the few at the expense of the many, and to talk of the reign of Queen Victoria as the time when England was truly merry England, when all classes were bound together by brotherly sympathy, when the rich did not grind the faces of the poor, and when the poor did not envy the splendour of the rich.



NOTES.

P. 2, l. 1. In this chapter. The *History* proper begins in chapter iv. with the accession of James II. Chapter i. is a brief summary of the chief events down to the Restoration, chapter ii. a fuller summary of the reign of Charles II.

P. 3, l. 9. The day of the Restoration, 29th May, 1660.

P. 3, l. 10. The day when the Long Parliament met, 3rd November, 1640.

P. 3, l. 12. Public bankruptcy. In 1672 Charles II., having no money to carry on the war with Holland, his ministers announced that it was not convenient to pay back the £1,300,000 which had been borrowed from the goldsmiths of London. See the *History*, chapter ii. (Popular edition,¹ i. 106).

P. 3, l. 12. Two costly and unsuccessful wars. In 1665-1667 and 1672-1674, both with the Dutch.

P. 3, l. 13. The pestilence, the plague which raged with unexampled fury in London in 1665.

P. 3, l. 13. The fire which destroyed the greater part of London in 1666.

P. 3, l. 14. The day of the death of Charles II., 6th February, 1685.

P. 3, l. 29. More than a hundred years. The first volume of the *History* was published in 1848; the last "tumult of sufficient importance to be called an insurrection" was the rising of 1745 in favour of the Young Pretender.

P. 4, l. 6. Applied to practical purposes. The simplification of various manufacturing processes by the introduction of machinery, the employment of steam as a motive power for such machinery as well as for trains and ships, and the use of electricity for conveying messages were some of the practical applications of which Macaulay was thinking.

P. 4, l. 32. Its present suburb, Southwark,—now no suburb.

P. 5, l. 8. Had then adopted. Sweden was the only European country which had a scientific census before the end of the eighteenth century. Our first census was taken in the year 1801.

P. 5, l. 20. Footnote. Sir William Petty (1623-1687), a physician by profession, is said by Macaulay to have "created the science of political arithmetic". (See p. 139, l. 22.) Though employed by the Commonwealth to survey the forfeited lands in Ireland he was favoured by Charles II.,

¹ This will be the edition used for all references to the *History*.

who knighted him. His friend John Grannt (1620-1674), a captain of the City trained bands, published "Observations on the Bills of Mortality" in 1661 or 1662. Macaulay, following Burnet, ascribes the work to Petty, who, however, did not write it, though in 1676, after the real author's death, he brought out a greatly improved edition.

P. 5, l. 22. Footnote. *She doth, etc.* The anonymous poem quoted is entitled "Great Britain's Glory, or a brief Description of the Splendour and Magnificence of the Royal Exchanges".

P. 5, l. 24. Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), a distinguished Dutch scholar, who did useful work in several countries. He was for some years royal librarian at Stockholm, and in 1670 was invited to England, where he spent the remainder of his life. He edited a number of the classics and wrote several original works in Latin. In the work cited he tried to prove that the population of Rome was fourteen millions and its area twenty times that of London and Paris together. Charles II. said that he would believe anything if only it were not in the Bible. Saint Evremond, who met him at the Duchesse de Mazarin's in London, thought his style too disputatious for a drawing-room.

P. 6, l. 12. Gregory King (1648-1712). He was appointed "Rouge Dragon Pursuivant" in 1667, and was registrar of the "College of Arms" from 1684 to 1694. Besides heraldic and genealogical treatises he wrote the work so often quoted by Macaulay, "Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England" (1696).

P. 6, l. 12. Lancaster herald. The Heralds' College was incorporated and endowed by Richard III. It consists of the Earl Marshal, three kings-of-arms (Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy), six heralds (Chester, Lancaster, Somerset, Richmond, Windsor, and York), and four pursuivants (Rouge Dragon, Portcullis, Rouge Croix, and Bluemantle).

P. 6, l. 16. Hearth money, a tax of two shillings on every hearth "In all houses paying to Church and poor". It was first imposed in 1663 and abolished in 1689. See the *History*, chapter xi. (l. 679).

P. 6, l. 26. Footnote. Gulliver. The passage quoted will be found in chapter vi. of the "Voyage to Brobdingnag".

P. 7, l. 17. Her present population. The population of England and Wales at the census of 1841 was 15,914,148. In 1851 it was 17,927,609, and in 1901, 32,527,843. [The population of London was 1,948,417 in 1841, and 2,362,236 in 1851. (For its population in 1901 see Note to p. 75, l. 4.)]

P. 7, l. 32. The union of the two British crowns, in 1603, when James VI. of Scotland became king of England also.

P. 7, l. 36. West of the Mississippi. The progress of civilisation since Macaulay wrote has deprived the contrast of most of its force.

P. 8, l. 7. Mosstroopers. A moss is a bog, swamp, or morass, and mosstroopers were the marauders who infested the mosses of the Scottish Border in the middle of the seventeenth century.

P. 8, l. 25. Borrowdale, one of the most beautiful valleys in the

Lake District, is that through which the River Derwent runs into Dorwentwater.

P. 8, l. 25. *Ravenglas* is a little decayed seaport on the coast of Cumberland at the confluence of the rivers Irth, Mite and Esk.

P. 8, l. 28. Footnote. *Gray's Journal*. The poet Gray visited the Lakes in 1769 and wrote a journal of his tour which was published by his friend Mason. Gray's words are: "There is a little path winding [from Borrowdale] over the Fells and for some weeks in the year passable to the dalesmen; but the mountains know well that these innocent people will not reveal the mysteries of their ancient kingdom, the reign of Chaos and Old Night. Only I learned that this dreadful road, dividing again, leads, one branch to *Ravenglas* and the other to *Hawkshead*." It is doubtful whether Macaulay has correctly understood them.

P. 9, l. 21. *Keeldar Castle*, near the upper waters of the North Tyne, formerly the residence of a famous Border chieftain, was converted into a shooting-box by a Duke of Northumberland. Scott, who visited the duke in 1827, says: "He tells me his people in *Keeldar* were all quite wild the first time his father went up to shoot there. The women had no other dress than a bodgown and petticoat. The men were savage and could hardly be brought to rise from the heath either from sullenness or fear. They sung a wild tune, the burden of which was *Orsina, orsina, orsina*. The females sang, the men danced round, and at a certain point of the tune they drew their dirks which they always wore."

P. 10, l. 2. The . . . province of *York* included in 1685 the sees of Durham, Chester, Carlisle, and Sodor and Man.

P. 10, l. 18. The United Provinces. Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Over-Yssel, Friesland, and Groningen became a federated commonwealth in 1579 though their independence was not formally recognised by Spain till 1648.

P. 10, l. 21. *Excise*, the duties charged on certain goods made in a country, such as those now charged on beer and spirits. The excise in 1907-1908 produced £35,720,000.

P. 10, l. 25. *Customs*, the duties charged on certain imported goods, such as those now charged on tobacco, wines, and spirits. The customs in 1907-1908 produced £82,490,000.

P. 10, l. 28. *Tax on chimneys*, hearth money. See p. 6, l. 16.

P. 10, l. 30. *Direct imposts*, payments (like income tax or the local rates) made to the authority imposing by the person liable. Excise and customs are paid direct to the State by the producer or importer, but the consumer pays them indirectly in giving more than their intrinsic value for the articles subject to them.

P. 11, l. 3. *Domiciliary visits*. "The collectors were empowered to examine the interior of every house in the realm, to disturb the families at meals, to force the doors of bedrooms."—*History*, chapter xi. (i. 678).

P. 11, l. 10. *Farmed*. When a tax was farmed the "farmer" undertook to pay the Government a certain sum on account of it, and made his profit by wringing as much more as he could from the unfortunate persons liable.

P. 11, l. 11. **Proverbially.** In all countries where the *tithes* have been farmed the farmers have acquired the same reputation for dishonesty and cruelty as the "publicans" of the Gospels.

P. 11, l. 19. **Footnote.** **Pepysian Library.** Samuel Pepys (see Note to p. 23, l. 4) left his valuable library to Magdalene College, Cambridge.

P. 12, l. 3. **The first fruits . . . Church.** At the Reformation the "first fruits," "primitiae," or "annates" (the whole of the first year's income of a church living), and the "tenths" or "decimas" (the tenth part of every subsequent year's income) were transferred from the Pope to the Crown. In 1704 (under the name of "Queen Anne's Bounty") both were devoted to the relief of the poorer clergy.

P. 12, l. 5. **The Duchies.** Since the days of the Black Prince the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall have been enjoyed by the eldest son of the sovereign, and the Duchy of Lancaster was united to the Crown by an Act of Edward IV.

P. 12, l. 6. **Forfeitures.** The lands of a traitor were forfeited to the Crown and there were smaller forfeitures for murder and felonies generally.

P. 12, l. 6. **Fines** were the sums paid by tenants on entering into possession or on the renewal of leases.

P. 12, l. 16. **Appropriated by Parliament.** In 1668 an Act (15 Car. II., c. 14) was passed settling the entire revenue of the Post Office on the Duke of York and his heirs male for ever. When he became king in 1685 the revenue (then about \$65,000 a year) reverted to the Crown.

P. 12, l. 21. **Fraudulently detained.** See Note to p. 8, l. 12.

P. 12, l. 21. **The Cabal.** "During some years the word *cabal* was popularly used as synonymous with *cabinet*. But it happened that in 1671 the cabinet consisted of five persons the initial letters of whose names made up the word *cabal*—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale."—*History*, chapter ii. (i. 104).

P. 12, l. 22. **Danby (1631-1712)**, a leading statesman under Charles II., James II., and William III. He was Sir Thomas Osborne whom he entered parliament in 1665, and his gradual rise is marked by his successive titles, Earl of Danby (1674), Marquis of Carmarthen (1689), and Duke of Leeds (1694). He was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1673 and was "at the head of the finances" for five years. For Macaulay's estimate of his character, see the *History*, chapter ii. (i. 110), and for his actions see the Index.

P. 12, l. 27. **The victory . . . over the Whigs.** For the origin of the terms *Whig* and *Tory*, see the *History*, chapter ii. (i. 126). In 1680 the Whigs were defeated in an attempt to exclude from succeeding to the throne the king's brother, the Roman Catholic Duke of York, the Bill which they had carried in the House of Commons being rejected by the House of Lords. Subsequent events led to a strong Tory reaction. See the *History*, chapter ii. (i. 127). "Redress was granted" in 1701.

P. 12, l. 35. **Funding**, providing a fund for the payment of interest on a debt, or the conversion into "funds" bearing a fixed rate of interest of money lent to the Government. For a full account of the origin of the National Debt, see the *History*, chapter xix. (ii. 397).

P. 13, l. 3. Plundering the public creditor, plundering the persons who had lent money to the public. See Note to p. 3, l. 12.

P. 13, l. 5. Help from Versailles, subsidies from Louis XIV. By a secret treaty signed at Dover in 1670 Charles II. bound himself to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, to unite with France in destroying Holland, and to support the claims of the Bourbons to the monarchy of Spain. Louis, on his part, undertook to make large payments to Charles and to send an army to help him if his subjects rebelled.

P. 13, l. 11. Henry IV., King of France from 1589 to 1610.

P. 13, l. 11. Philip II., King of Spain from 1556 to 1598.

P. 13, l. 13. Bastions. A bastion is a projecting mass of earth or masonry at the angle of a fortification. ✓

P. 13, l. 13. Ravelins. A ravelin is a detached work forming a "salient angle" in front of the curtain of a fortification. ✓

P. 13, l. 15. Parma and Spinola, distinguished generals in the Spanish service. The Duke of Parma died in 1593 and the Marquis of Spinola in 1630.

P. 13, l. 16. Richelieu, Cardinal and Duke, the wonder-working minister of Louis XIII. from 1624 till his own death in 1642.

P. 13, l. 27. Under twenty-five, i.e., born since the Restoration.

P. 14, l. 18. A Spanish sail. Macaulay, in his poem "The Armada," describes how, after the "Spanish sails had been discovered in the Channel" in 1588 the news might have been carried all over the country by means of beacons.

P. 14, l. 20. Footnote. Chamberlayne. "Anglia Notitia, or the Present State of England" (a kind of "Whitaker" or "Statesman's Year Book") was first published by Edward Chamberlayne in 1669. He issued the twentieth edition in 1702, and after his death his son continued the work under the new title "Magnæ Britannia Notitia".

P. 14, l. 25. Personal estate, property belonging to the person (money, furniture, etc.) as distinguished from "real estate" (landed property).

P. 14, l. 33. Synteleia (συντελεία), a group of citizens who equipped a ship for the public service at their joint expense.

P. 15, l. 7. Sole Captain-General. The demand of the Long Parliament that Charles I. should relinquish the command of the militia and the appointment of lords-lieutenants was one of the causes of the Civil War. The command was restored to Charles II. and the power of appointment recognised by his first Parliament.

P. 15, l. 8. Lords-Lieutenants were first appointed by the Tudors to keep the counties in military order. The lord-lieutenant is usually a man of exalted position. He is the chief administrative authority of a county. Under and appointed by him are the deputy-lieutenants.

P. 15, l. 15. Trainbands (or "trained bands"), another name for the militia.

P. 15, l. 18. Martial law. See Note to p. 20, l. 34.

P. 15, l. 23. Vanban (1633-1707), the most distinguished engineer in the wars of Louis XIV.

P. 15, l. 25. **Vienna.** The famous siege of Vienna by the Turks lasted from 14th July to 12th September, 1683, and it required all the efforts of the Emperor Leopold aided by John Sobieski, King of Poland, to relieve the city.

✓ P. 15, l. 30. **Ported pikes.** To port a pike was to hold it with both hands in front of the body, the point slanting upwards to the left.

P. 16, l. 1. Footnote. "**Cymon and Iphigenia.**" See Note to p. 131, l. 27. The passage quoted begins with l. 399 of the poem. *Time* in l. 404 should be *times*.

P. 16, l. 15. **That party, the Tories.**

P. 16, l. 24. **One such army, Cromwell's army.**

✓ P. 17, l. 9. **Scutcheons and headless statues.** The soldiers of the Parliament sometimes wantonly defaced the coats of arms and the effigies on the tombs in the churches.

P. 17, l. 19. **Beefeaters, the popular name for the Yeomen of the Guard.** (The opinion that the word is etymologically connected with *buffet*, a sideboard, is erroneous.)

P. 17, l. 31. **Fifth Monarchy men.** There had been four great empires (or "monarchies"), those of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. In the time of Cromwell a set of enthusiasts declared that there was to be a fifth, under King Jesus, that no single person ought to rule until His coming, but the civil Government should meanwhile be administered by His saints,—that is, by themselves.

P. 17, l. 31. **Tangier, ceded to England by Portugal in 1662 as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, was abandoned in 1683.**

P. 18, l. 1. **Madrid . . . Candahar.** The English army "marched triumphant into Madrid" in 1812 during the Peninsular War, into Paris in 1815 after the battle of Waterloo, and into Candahar in 1839 during the Afghan War. When Macaulay wrote it had not literally marched into Canton, the city having been ransomed when at the mercy of the army in 1841, during the first Chinese War.

P. 18, l. 2. **Now.** Since Macaulay wrote the army has several times been reorganised so that the regiments of 1685 do not necessarily bear now the names which they bore in 1848.

P. 18, l. 9. **Their pay.** The pay of a private ("a gentleman of the troop") was 4s. a day.

P. 18, l. 18. **Lower pay.** The pay of a private in the grenadiers was 2s. 6d. a day.

P. 18, l. 33. **Montecuculi (1608-1680), a celebrated Austrian general, who served with distinction in the Thirty Years' War and later opposed Turenne and Condé with credit.**

P. 18, l. 34. **A soldier . . . performed, a soldier who belonged to what is now called the "mounted infantry".**

P. 19, l. 5. **The Petition of Right, to which Charles I. reluctantly assented in 1628.**

P. 19, l. 16. **Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic king of Sweden, who, after**

making great efforts on behalf of the German Protestants during the Thirty Years' War, was killed in the moment of victory at Lutzen (1632).

P. 19, l. 20. Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who succeeded his father, William the Silent, as stadtholder, and after a series of brilliant campaigns, expelled the Spaniards from the United Provinces. He died in 1625.

P. 19, l. 28. Cruel . . . habits. The commander had been Colonel Kirke, and the soldiers were ironically called "Kirke's lambs".

P. 20, l. 14. In the muzzle. "The immediate cause of the late defeat [of William's forces at Killiecrankie in 1689] was the difficulty of fixing bayonets. The firelock of the Highlander was quite distinct from the weapon which he used in close fight. He discharged his shot, threw away his gun, and fell on with his sword. This was the work of a moment. It took the regular musketeer two or three minutes to alter his missile weapon into a weapon with which he could encounter an enemy hand to hand; and during these two or three minutes the event of the battle of Killiecrankie had been decided. Mackay [William's general] therefore ordered all his bayonets to be so formed that they might be screwed upon the barrel without stopping it up, and that his men might be able to receive a charge the very instant after firing."—*History*, chapter xlii. (li. 68).

P. 20, l. 21. The whole charge. The "whole charge" for the army in 1907-1908 was £27,115,000.

P. 20, l. 30. Common law, those customs and usages which have by long prescription obtained the binding force of laws—distinguished from "statute law," which derives its authority from Parliament. Courts martial, for the trial of naval and military offences, derive their authority from the Mutiny Act.

P. 20, l. 34. A Mutiny Bill. A standing army without discipline would be useless in war and dangerous in peace, so, circumstances having made a standing army necessary, Parliament in 1689 passed a Mutiny Bill subjecting to special regulations the conduct of soldiers as soldiers. A similar measure, now called the Army (Annual) Act, has been passed every year since. For a full account of the passing of the first Mutiny Bill, see the *History*, chapter xi. (i. 676).

P. 21, l. 28. The power of recalling them. James II. exercised the power, recalling the three Scotch regiments when the descent of the Duke of Monmouth was threatened and the three English regiments after it had actually taken place. See the *History*, chapter v. (i. 279, 290).

P. 22, l. 10. Foreign foes, the Dutch and the Spaniards.

P. 23, l. 21. While Danby was minister. In the spring of 1677 the House of Commons voted £584,000.

P. 23, l. 30. First rates. Warships were divided into six "rates" or classes according to the number of guns which they carried.

P. 23, l. 4. Pepys. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) is best known as the author of a Diary extending from 1st January, 1660 (N.S.), to 31st May, 1669. Trusting to the secrecy of the shorthand in which it was written, he recorded the most intimate details respecting himself, his wife, and his servants. The manuscript (which, with other papers was bequeathed

to Magdaleno College, Cambridge) was deciphered in 1825. From the Restoration to the Revolution Pepys held various offices in the Admiralty, exhibiting much ability, energy, and zeal.

P. 23, l. 8. **Bonrepaux** was sent to England towards the close of the year 1685. For an account of the man and of his mission, see the *History*, chapter vi. (l. 353).

P. 24, l. 3. **Tickets**, official warrants of discharge. Payment by the Government was so unpropitious that a sailor whose ticket entitled him to £5 was glad to part with it for £3, cash down.

P. 24, l. 15. **Cimon . . . Agrippa**. The Athenian Cimon defeated the Persians on land and sea; the Spartan Lysander similarly defeated the Athenians; Pompey, the rival of Julius Cæsar, and Agrippa, the leading statesman under Cæsar Augustus, both commanded armies and navies.

P. 24, l. 21. **The Admiral of England**. Macaulay was thinking of Lord Thomas Howard. Surrey, at Flodden, divided his army into three divisions. Lord Thomas Howard led the centre of the vanward division, and his brother, Sir Edmund Howard, its right wing.

P. 24, l. 23. **The Admiral of France**, Gaspard de Coligny, who led the Huguenot rearguard at Jarnac and the whole army at Moncontour (both fought in 1569).

P. 24, l. 23. **John of Austria**, a celebrated Spanish general.

P. 24, l. 24. **Lepanto**, near the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth, where, in 1571, the combined Venetian, Spanish, and Papal galleys gained a great victory over the Turks.

P. 24, l. 24. **Lord Howard of Effingham** (1580-1624) was commander of the horse against the Northern rebels in 1569, of the fleet which defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, and of the land and sea forces during the alarm of 1599. He was created Earl of Nottingham in 1596.

P. 24, l. 27. **Raleigh**. Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?-1618) served in the Huguenot army at Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569, and in Ireland in 1580. It is doubtful whether he ever served in the Netherlands. (For a discussion of the question see Edwards' "Life," i. 85.)

P. 24, l. 30. **Blake**. Robert Blake (1599-1657) took part in the defence of Bristol against the Royalists in 1643, held Lyme in 1643-1644, and took and held Taunton in 1644-1645. As Admiral under the Commonwealth "he humbled the pride of Holland" by defeating Tromp, De Witt and De Ruyter in 1652, and he "humbled the pride of Castile" by destroying the Spanish West Indian Fleet in 1657.

P. 24, l. 35. **Rupert**. Prince Rupert (1619-1682) was the nephew of Charles I. He took a prominent part in the Civil War as a dashing leader of cavalry. After the execution of Charles I. he commanded the royal fleet sent to aid Ormond in Ireland. In 1666 he (with Monk) commanded the fleet against the Dutch, and in 1678 he was appointed general on sea and land.

P. 24, l. 35. **Monk**. George Monk (1608-1670) was the Parliamentary general created Duke of Albemarle as a reward for his effective aid in restoring Charles II. He was admiral of the fleet which defeated the

Dutch in 1652 and shared with Rapert the command of the fleet which fought against them in 1666.

P. 25, l. 20. *Ship of the line*, a line-of-battle ship (one carrying upwards of seventy-four guns).

P. 25, l. 36. *John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave*, afterwards first Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1648-1721).

P. 26, l. 7. A ship of eighty-four guns, the *Captain*, the best second rate in the navy.

P. 26, l. 33. *Sallee*. *Sallee*, on the N.-W. coast of Africa, was one of the chief ports of the Barbary Corsairs.

P. 27, l. 19. *Whitehall stairs and Hampton Court*. The Thames was much used both for traffic and for ceremony, and the gilded barges of the court were frequently passing up and down the river between the royal palaces of Whitehall and Hampton Court.

P. 28, l. 4. *Scurvy*, a disease which caused great havoc among sailors on long voyages. Its chief cause was lack of fresh vegetables, and it is now prevented by the use of lemon juice or lime juice.

P. 28, l. 14. *Sir Christopher Mings* (1625-1666). Pepys (under date 13th June, 1666) records in his Diary that he attended the funeral and after it went into the coach of Sir William Coventry, a Navy Commissioner. "Being in it with him there happened this extraordinary case—one of the most romantique that ever I heard of in my life . . . : About a dozen able, lusty, proper men come to the coach-side with tears in their eyes, and one of them that spoke for the rest begun and says to Sir W. Coventry, 'We are here a dozen of us that have long known and loved and served our dead commander, Sir Christopher Mings, and have now done the last office of laying him in the ground. We would be glad we had any other to offer after him and in revenge of him. All we have is our lives : if you will please to get His Royal Highness to give us a fire-ship among us all, here is a dozen of us out of all which choose you one to be commander, and the rest of us, whoever he is, will serve him ; and if possible do that that shall show our memory of our dead commander and our revenge.'"

P. 28, l. 20. *Sir John Narborough* (1640-1688) was probably connected with Sir Christopher Mings by blood, and certainly served under him, though it is doubtful whether he ever was his cabin boy.

P. 28, l. 21. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel* (1650-1707), first went to sea with Mings ; and afterwards served under Narborough. He was probably related to both.

P. 29, l. 8. *Lieutenant Bowling* and *Commodore Trunton*, characters in two of Smollett's novels, the first in "*Roderick Random*," the second in "*Peregrine Pickle*."

P. 29, l. 18. The sum actually expended in 1707-1708 was over £31,000,000.

P. 29, l. 23. *Charge of the . . . ordnance*. When Macaulay wrote the ordnance estimates included the pay of engineers, sappers and miners, the royal regiment of artillery, and the Royal Horse Artillery.

P. 30, l. 9. At Woolwich, where the Royal Arsenal was (and is) situated.

P. 30, l. 11. Castilianarquebusses. The arquebus was an earlier form of gun than the musket. It was naturally an object of admiration to the Indians who, till the Spaniards invaded their country, had never seen fire-arms.

P. 30, l. 18. The expenditure. In Macaulay's time it was about two millions and a half.

P. 30, l. 21. Effective charge, the cost of maintaining the actual fighting force, as distinguished from the non-effective charge—the cost of half-pay, pensions, etc.

P. 30, l. 27. Half pay, the allowance made to officers who retire after a certain length of service.

P. 31, l. 4. Greenwich Hospital. After the great victory won by the fleet at La Hogue in 1692 Queen Mary declared that the royal palace of Greenwich, which Charles II. had begun to rebuild, should be finished and dedicated to the use of seamen disabled in their country's service. After the death of the Queen in 1694 William hastened to complete the edifice as a memorial of her. See the *History*, chapter xviii. (li. 358) and chapter xx. (li. 601.)

When Macaulay wrote all naval pensioners were reckoned as *in or out* pensioners of Greenwich Hospital and all military pensioners as *in or out* pensioners of Chelsea Hospital.

P. 31, l. 24. Were in the commission of the peace, were magistrates (or justices). They are appointed by the king's commission under the great seal.

P. 31, l. 24. Headboroughs, parish officers whose duties differed little from those of petty constables.

P. 31, l. 32. Turkey Company. The first charter of the Turkey Company, granted in 1581, was to be in force for seven years only. When it expired some of the merchants were opposed to applying for its renewal, the cost of maintaining an ambassador at Constantinople having proved so great.

P. 32, l. 1. Only an Envoy. An envoy is a temporary representative of his Government, an ambassador a permanent representative. One is sent (*envoyé*) abroad to transact some special business, the other to live abroad.

P. 32, l. 20. The Duke of Ormond. James Butler (1610-1688), first Duke of Ormond, had more than any other nobleman to do with the government of Ireland during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. He fought gallantly for the first during the Civil War, and suffered faithfully with the second during the Protectorate, and was amply rewarded after the Restoration. For a brief estimate of him, see the *History*, chapter iv. (i. 218).

P. 32, l. 21. The Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers, second Duke (1628-1687), the son of James's favourite, whose vast wealth he inherited—and squandered. After the Restoration he intrigued against Clarendon and, ultimately, supplanted him. Though one of the Cabal he

was headwinked by his colleagues and the king. Deprived of office in 1674 he went violently into opposition but he never recovered power. In spite of uncommon gifts and opportunities his life was a failure; he might have succeeded in some things if he had not tried to succeed in all things, but his vices made his talents ineffective as his volubility made his versatility.

P. 32, l. 23. **George Monk.** See Note to p. 24, l. 35.

P. 33, l. 10. The crown lawyers, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General. Their incomes were derived from fees.

P. 33, l. 16. The Lord Treasurer, the Lord High Treasurer, the third great officer of the Crown. (The High Steward was the first and the Lord Chancellor the second.)

P. 33, l. 17. In commission. An office is said to be in commission when its duties are performed not by what might be considered the regular administrator but by a group of persons. The Earl of Rochester was the last Lord High Treasurer (1685-1687). The functions have since been performed by commissioners. The First Lord of the Treasury is generally the Prime Minister.

P. 33, l. 19. A poundage, a commission of so much in the pound.

P. 33, l. 22. Groom of the Stole. Chamberlayne in detailing the court officials says the "Gentlemen of the Bedchamber are eleven, whereof the first is Groom of the Stole . . . he having the office and honour to present and put on his Majesty's first garment or shirt every morning. . . . The Gentlemen of the Bedchamber consist usually of the prime nobility of England, whose office in general is, each one in his turn, to wait one week in the King's bedchamber, etc."

P. 33, l. 23. Commissioners of the Customs. Chamberlayne says: "In this office are employed a great number of officers whereof divers are of considerable quality. . . . As, first, the commissioners, who have the whole charge and management of all his Majesty's Customs . . . in all the ports of England. . . . The present (1694) commissioners are seven and are allowed by the King a salary of £1,200 to each per annum."

P. 34, l. 2. The white staff, the emblem of office of the Lord High Treasurer.

P. 34, l. 2. The great seal, the emblem of office of the Lord Chancellor.

P. 34, l. 3. Tidewaiter, a customs' officer who watched the landing of goods to secure the payment of duties.

P. 34, l. 3. Gauger, exciseman.

P. 34, l. 7. Market overt, open market.

P. 34, l. 11. Has become rich. Some, on the contrary, have become very much poorer. The Duke of Newcastle, for instance, was £300,000 poorer when he left office than when he entered it, and William Pitt died owing over £50,000.

P. 34, l. 22. Chancellor Clarendon. Edward Hyde (1609-1674), the wisest adviser of Charles I. during the Civil War and the chief adviser of

Charles II. during his exile, was created Earl of Clarendon, after the Restoration. He was deprived of power and office in 1667. He spent the remainder of his life in France, completing the "History of the Rebellion," and writing an Autobiography.

P. 34, l. 22. **Arlington.** Henry Bennet (1618-1685) also lived abroad during the rule of the Commonwealth, and his country would not have suffered if he had continued to live abroad afterwards. He was the chief intriguer against Clarendon, the chief author of the ignominious Treaty of Dover, and no better than the other members of the Cabal. The Commons tried to impeach him in 1674 as the king's evil adviser, but Charles (who had in 1663 created him Lord Arlington) then made him Lord Chamberlain. For Macaulay's estimate of him, see the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 104).

P. 34, l. 23. **Lauderdale.** John Maitland (1616-1682), who, during the Civil War, was one of the sternest of Scotch Covenanters, joined Charles II. in 1649 and was captured at Worcester. He was kept prisoner till 1660. Then, for twenty years, he was entrusted with the management of the affairs of his native country, where, so far from adhering to the principles of the Covenant, he tried to make the king absolute in Church and State. He was created Duke of Lauderdale in 1672. See the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 105).

P. 34, l. 25. **Dunkirk House.** The vast mansion of the Earl of Clarendon stood west of Burlington House facing the top of St. James's Street on ground now occupied by Bond, Stafford and Albemarle Streets. As it was built soon after the unpopular sale of Dunkirk to Louis, the people concluded that the Earl had been enriched by that transaction and called the mansion Dunkirk (instead of Clarendon) House.

P. 34, l. 26. **Euston, Arlington's Mansion,** about three miles from Thetford in Suffolk. Evelyn, who visited it in 1677, speaks of its "four pavilions," its canal "full of carps and fowl," its "red and fallow deer almost a thousand," and its very fine orange garden.

P. 34, l. 27. **Ham House** stands on the south bank of the Thames, between Richmond and Kingston. Evelyn (under date 27th August, 1678) says: "I walked to Ham to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeed inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itself; the house furnished like a great prince's; the parterres, flower-gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountains, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needs be admirable."

P. 35, l. 10. A time not exceeding two long lives, one hundred and sixty-three years—the interval between the time of which Macaulay was writing (1685) and the time at which he was writing (1848).

P. 35, l. 22. **Area of the kingdom.** The area of England and Wales (including water and the ground incapable of cultivation) is 37,327,000 acres (58,324 square miles). In 1908 three-fourths of this (27,942,000 acres) was under crops or grass.

✓ P. 35, l. 29. **Warren,** land given up to rabbits.

P. 36, l. 1. **The Grand Duke Cosmo.** Cosmo III., Grand Duke of

Tuscany, visited England in 1669. The account of his tour, though written by the learned Count Lorenzo Magalotti, is dull reading, being little more than a record of distances travelled, ceremonial guns fired, meals eaten, and gentry received. It was illustrated with thirty-nine drawings made by artists in the Duke's suite. As these are mostly views of towns, villages, or mansions, they do not afford much ground for inference regarding the absence of hedges.

P. 86, l. 4. Enfield. Evelyn writes on 2nd June, 1676 (not 1675 as Macaulay says): "I went . . . to see a garden at Enfield town, thence to Mr. Secretary Coventry's lodge in the Chase. . . . That which I most wondered at was that in the compass of twenty-five miles, yet within fourteen of London, there is not a house, barn, church, or building besides three lodges. To this lodge are . . . some few enclosures, the rest a solitary desert, yet stored with not less than three thousand deer."

P. 86, l. 22. Oliver Saint John (1598?-1673) was a prominent member of the Long Parliament. He was appointed solicitor-general in 1641 and promoted the Bill for Strafford's attainder.

P. 86, l. 24. Law, start, allowance of time, grace, consideration.

P. 86, l. 28. Country gentlemen of our time, by whom the killing of a fox except by hunting would be regarded as more than a crime.

P. 87, l. 13. Whittlebury Forest (or Whittlewood) lay chiefly in the south of Northamptonshire but extended into the adjoining counties of Oxford and Buckingham.

P. 87, l. 13. Needwood, a beautiful tract of about ten thousand acres in the east of Staffordshire.

P. 87, l. 14. Cranbourne Chase, on the borders of Dorset and Wilts. It formerly extended nearly to Salisbury and was about eighty miles in circuit.

P. 87, l. 30. Enclosure Acts. The enclosing of common lands by the lord of the manor was one of the crying evils of Tudor times denounced by More in "Utopia," by Latimer in a sermon before Edward VI., and by Bishop Hall in a satire. Afterwards the permission of Parliament came to be considered necessary, and between 1700 and 1845 some four thousand Enclosure Acts were passed dealing with over seven million acres.

P. 87, l. 33. Ten thousand square miles, 6,400,000 acres.

P. 88, l. 19. At present. In 1907 the crops were:—

Wheat	6,536,242 qrs.
Barley	6,292,461 "
Oats	11,464,406 "
Beans	1,270,946 "
Peas	587,774 "

Macaulay's expectation of a continued and general increase in farm produce was not realised, causes which were not operating fully in his time having diverted capital from agriculture. The following figures show the variations between 1879 and 1908:—

	1879	1908
Acres under wheat	2,814,000	1,583,000
" " barley	2,889,000	1,470,000
" " oats	1,653,000	2,160,000
" " clover and rotation grasses	3,022,000	2,868,000
" " permanent grass	18,007,000	15,942,000
" " crops and grass	27,263,000	27,348,000
No. of horses	1,237,000	1,341,000
" " cattle	4,773,000	5,731,000
" " sheep	21,519,000	19,680,000
" " pigs	1,964,000	2,680,000

P. 38, l. 81. Charles Davenant (1656-1714), the son of Sir William Davenant the poet, was the secretary of the commission appointed to treat for the union with Scotland. He wrote several valuable economic works. That to which Macaulay refers is "An Essay upon the probable Methods of making a People gainers in the Balance of Trade" (1699).

P. 39, l. 1. Rotation of crops. Every crop draws its peculiar nourishment from the soil. If the same crop were repeated it would become poorer and poorer because every year there would be less and less of its proper food left in the ground. Scientific farmers therefore sow in rotation crops requiring different constituents, e.g., roots, barley, clover, wheat.

P. 39, l. 8. The turnip had not been "lately introduced into our island". What had been lately introduced was the practice of growing it in fields for sheep and cattle instead of in gardens for human beings. The change was very beneficial both in facilitating the rotation of crops and in providing fresh meat for the winter. Pope, writing in 1787, speaks of "all Townshend's turnips" as though they were a novelty in the Eastern Counties.

P. 39, l. 14. The Northumberland Household Book, "the Regulations and Establishment of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, at his Castles of Wresill and Lekinfield in Yorkshire, begun Anno Domini 1512".

P. 39, l. 22. Martinmas, 11th November.

P. 39, l. 80. Spanish jennets. The adjective is unnecessary as *jennet* meant a Spanish horse. Cotgrave in his Dictionary defines the French word *genette* as "a genet or Spanish horse".

P. 40, l. 9. Childers and Eclipse. The "Darley Arabian," imported at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the sire of the famous racer "Flying Childers" (foaled in 1715) and the great-great-grand sire of the still more famous "Eclipse" (foaled in 1764). Macaulay in his Essay on the Life of Johnson says Boswell "has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. 'Eclipse' is first and the rest nowhere."

P. 40, l. 15. Barbs, a breed of horses brought originally from Barbary.

P. 40, l. 25. Footnote. "Dappled Flanders mares." Macaulay was thinking of the lines in Pope's "Epistle" to Martha Blount:—

"The gods, to curse Pamela with her prayers
Gave the gilt coach and dappled Flanders mares."

P. 40, l. 25. Footnote. The vulgar proverb is much older than the Stuarts.³ It occurs in a ballad of 1550 (quoted in Hazlitt's "Early Popular Poetry," iv. 287) and in Heywood's "Proverbs" (1562).

P. 40, l. 30. Tyrian, Phœnician (from the city of Tyre). The Phœnicians worked the tin mines from a very early date.

P. 40, l. 30. Pillars of Hercules, Gibraltar and Hacho (the Calpe and Abyla of the ancients), the rocks at the entrance of the Mediterranean. ✓

P. 41, l. 4. What it now is. Though the Cornish mines are more productive than in Macaulay's day, they now supply only a small part of our needs. In 1907 they furnished 7,080 tons of dressed ore from which 4,406 tons was obtainable by smelting. In the same year we imported 20,871 tons of ore and 43,794 tons of tin in blocks, ingots, or bars.

P. 41, l. 5. Copper. Our copper mines are nearly exhausted. In 1907 they produced only 4,179 tons of dressed ore from which 421 tons of metal was obtainable. In the same year we imported 108,742 tons of ore, 71,950 tons of "regulus" (partly smelted ore) and 82,712 tons of unwrought or partly wrought metal.

P. 41, l. 14. Not long after the Restoration. The first bed of rock-salt was discovered near Northwich in 1670 during a search for coal.

P. 41, l. 27. At present. In 1907 the amount of rock-salt obtained was 208,974 tons and the amount produced from brine 1,723,426 tons. The amount exported was 582,879 tons (against 812,500 tons in Macaulay's time).

P. 42, l. 17. At present. The amount of pig-iron produced in 1907 was 8,724,807 tons.

P. 43, l. 4. The whole annual produce of the coal mines of England and Wales in 1907 was 227,688,710 tons.

P. 43, l. 23. Quarter Sessions, meetings of the magistrates of a county, held every three months for the transaction of certain county business and the trial of offences too important for the petty sessions and not important enough for the assizes. The chairman is one of the most respected magistrates. ✓

P. 44, l. 20. In the Commissions of the Peace and Lieutenancy. See Notes to p. 31, l. 24, and p. 15, l. 8.

P. 44, l. 29. *Mittimus*, a warrant from a justice directing the keeper of a prison to receive a person into custody. In Latin it began with the word *mittimus*, we send. ✓

P. 45, l. 19. Canary, a kind of light, sweet wine.

P. 46, l. 14. They stitched . . . pasty. What were considered their duties may be inferred from the books written for their use, e.g., the immensely popular work of Gervase Markham, "The English House-Wife, containing the inward and outward Vertues which ought to be in a Comely Woman. As her skill in Physick, Chirurgery, Cookery, Extraction of Oyle, Banqueting stuff, Ordering of great Feasts, Preserving of all sort of Wines, conceited Secrets, Distillations, Perfumes, Ordering of Wool, Hemp, Flax: Making Cloth and Dying: The knowledge of Dayries: Office of Malting of Oats, their excellent uses in Families: Of Brewing,

Baking and all other things belonging to an Household. A Work generally approved, and now the Eighth time much Augmented, Purged and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the general good of this Nation" (1675).

P. 46, l. 28. A Talbot or a Howard. The Talbots and the Howards are among the most ancient of English noble families. The Earl of Shrewsbury is the head of the one and the Duke of Norfolk of the other.

P. 46, l. 30. Supporters are the figures in a coat of arms standing on each side of the shield (like the unicorn and the lion in the royal arms). They are granted "only to persons included in the rank of nobility or to knights banneret by favour of the sovereign".

P. 47, l. 14. Goring. George, Lord Goring (1608-1657), son of the Earl of Norwich, distinguished himself on the king's side in the Civil War. As general of the horse he routed Fairfax in 1643; he led the left wing at Marston Moor; he made a successful charge at the second battle of Newbury. Being defeated at Langport he went abroad and obtained command of the English regiments in the Spanish service.

P. 47, l. 14. Lunsford. There were three brothers Lunsford who fought for the king—Thomas (knighted in 1641), Herbert (knighted in 1645), and Henry. Thomas was captured at Edgehill. Herbert, engaged in the same battle, was more fortunate. Henry was killed at the siege of Bristol in 1648.

P. 47, l. 87. Precedence, due order and place in processions, ceremonies, etc. It is regulated by several considerations, e.g., rank, descent, office, and has often created much jealousy.

P. 48, l. 20. Subject to French dictation. See Note to p. 13, l. 5.

P. 48, l. 27. Bastards of Nell Gwynn and Madam Carwell. Nell Gwynn, once an orange girl at Drury Lane Theatre, then an actress, was the mother of a son whom Charles created Duke of St. Albans. Madam Carwell was the name given by the English to Louise Renée de Keroualle, a Frenchwoman whom Charles created Duchess of Portsmouth. Her son was made Duke of Richmond.

P. 48, l. 30. In his extremity. In 1680, when the agitation for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne was at its height "Shaftesbury and those who were with him in politics resigned their seats [on the Privy Council]. Temple himself . . . retired to his garden and his library. Essex quitted the Board of Treasury and cast in his lot with the opposition."—*History*, chapter ii. (l. 124).

P. 49, l. 20. The rural clergy. No part of the *History* has been examined so minutely or censured so severely as the description of the condition of the clergy. Though this occupies less than a hundred and thirtieth part of the first two volumes, Croker devotes a tenth part of his review¹ to it, and Churchill Babington wrote a book of 116 pages to refute it. Macaulay, liking strong contrasts, had a tendency to exaggerate

¹ In the *Quarterly Review* for March, 1849 (No. clxviii). Croker's criticisms were answered in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1849 (No. clxxxii.).

both the light and the shade of his pictures, and his generalisations were sometimes wider than his facts would justify, but unprejudiced students are not disposed to deny the substantial accuracy of his description.

P. 50, l. 12. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was the fifth great officer of the Crown (the Lord President being the fourth). All letters-patent for the grant of charters, pardons, etc., passed under his hand before they came to the great seal of England.

P. 50, l. 13. Master of the Rolls. Chamberlayne says: "The Chancellor or Lord Keeper hath twelve assistants, anciently called *Clerici*, Clerks, or *Magistri Cancellarie*, because they were usually all in Holy Orders and Doctors of the Laws. . . . The first of these is the Master of the Rolls."

P. 50, l. 21. Received the tonsure, had their hair cut off (wholly or partly) as a sign of their dedication to the clerical or monastic life. ✓

P. 50, l. 23. Scroops . . . Poles. Richard Scroop (or Scrope) was Archbishop of York under Richard II. and Henry IV.; George Neville (brother of the "Kingmaker") was Archbishop of York under Edward IV.; Thomas Bourchier was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454 to 1486; John Stafford was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1443 to 1452; Edmund de Stafford was Bishop of Exeter from 1395 to 1419; Reginald Pole was Archbishop of Canterbury under Mary.

P. 50, l. 26. Large portion of the tithe. Since the suppression of the monasteries the tithes which used to be paid to them have been paid to the persons on whom the king conferred the monastic property and their successors.

P. 50, l. 27. William of Wykeham and William of Waynflete were both Bishops of Winchester and both Chancellors of England. One built the school at Winchester; the other added to the school at Eton; both founded colleges at Oxford (New and Magdalen).

P. 51, l. 1. The scarlet hat . . . Legate. Bourchier had been cardinal; and Pole and Wolsey were both cardinals and papal legates.

P. 51, l. 7. William Cecil . . . Walsingham. These men all flourished under Elizabeth. William Cecil (Lord Burghley) was her Lord High Treasurer and chief minister; Nicholas Bacon (famous father of a more famous son) was Lord Keeper; Roger Ascham, author of "*Toxophilus*" and "*The Scholemaster*," had been her tutor; Sir Thomas Smith, author of "*De Republica Anglorum*" and formerly professor of civil law, was Secretary of State; Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Francis Walsingham was Secretary of State. All were laymen; one was a professed scholar, and the learning of the others was scarcely inferior to his, though they were immersed in public business.

P. 51, l. 23. Parker and Grindal. Matthew Parker was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury at the accession of Elizabeth. Edmund Grindal (who had been Archbishop of York since 1570) succeeded him in 1576.

P. 51, l. 35. Two sons of peers, Lord Compton, Bishop of London, son of the Earl of Northampton, and Lord Crew, Bishop of Durham.

P. 51, l. 36. Four or five. Chamberlayne, writing in 1693, gives a

list (including Compton and Crew) of twelve men of noble descent who were then in the Church, and adds that there were "many others now living or lately dead".

P. 52, l. 7. Lived, as chaplains.

P. 53, l. 1. Canonicals, the dress enjoined on the clergy by canon.

✓ P. 53, l. 2. Levite, a contemptuous name for a domestic chaplain, in allusion to Micah (Judges xvii. 12) who consecrated a Levite "and the young man became his priest and was in the house of Micah".

✓ P. 53, l. 8. Shovelboard, a game played by "shoving" pieces of money along a board having transverse lines, the object being to play the coin so that it rested between two lines.

✓ P. 53, l. 24. Simony, the buying or selling of livings in the Church (after Simon Magus who tried to buy the power of bestowing the Holy Ghost. See Acts viii. 18).

P. 54, l. 1. Oxonian. Thomas Wood (1661-1722) of New College, nephew of the author of "Athena Oxoniensis". The work which Macaulay quotes is practically an abridged translation of Chamberlayne's. (See Note to p. 14, l. 20.)

P. 54, l. 25. Footnote. Roger, etc. Babington objects to the "cook" and points out that Abigail is "a waiting gentle-woman," Nurse a "governante," and Susan a "housekeeper".

P. 55, l. 1. The keenest of all observers, Dean Swift. The "Directions to Servants" was published in 1745, just after his death.

P. 55, l. 5. Blown upon, tainted (as meat by flies).

P. 55, l. 19. A white day, a day to be remembered with pleasure. The Romans used a white stone or a piece of chalk to mark their lucky days.

P. 55, l. 25. Footnote. "Tom Jones." Fielding's "Tom Jones" was published in 1749.

✓ P. 55, l. 25. Advowson, the right of presentation to a living.

P. 56, l. 29. Barrow. Isaac Barrow (1630-1677) was a fine preacher and his "Pope's Supremacy" is an acute piece of controversial writing, but he was more a mathematician than theologian. He was master of Trinity College, Cambridge, when he died.

P. 56, l. 30. Pearson. John Pearson (1618-1686) wrote an "Exposition of the Creed" which has been frequently reprinted down to our own time. He gave up the mastership of Trinity in 1678 to become Bishop of Chester.

P. 56, l. 31. Cudworth. Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688) was master of Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1654 till his death. His chief works are "The True Intellectual System of the Universe" and "Eternal and Immutable Morality".

P. 56, l. 31. Henry More (1614-1687) refused two bishoprics. He was a Fellow of Christ's College, and the best known of the Cambridge "Platonists".

P. 56, l. 32. South. Robert South (1634-1716) also declined a bishopric. His style of preaching was homely and even humorous.

P. 56, l. 32. Pococke. Edward Pococke (1604-1691) was a famous Oriental scholar, professor of both Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford.

P. 56, l. 32. Jane. William Jane (1645-1707) was regius professor of divinity at Oxford. It was he who framed the University declaration in favour of passive obedience. In the year of which Macaulay is writing he was appointed Dean of Gloucester.

P. 56, l. 32. Aldrich. Henry Aldrich (1647-1710), Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1689 till his death, was remarkable for his knowledge of music.

P. 56, l. 33. Prideaux. Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724) is remembered as the author of a life of Mahomet and of "The Old and New Testament Connected". In 1685 he was Canon of Norwich. He was made dean in 1702.

P. 56, l. 34. Whitby. Daniel Whitby (1683-1726) was a canon of Salisbury and chaplain to the bishop. He gained much popularity by writing against the Church of Rome and lost it by writing in favour of concessions to the Nonconformists.

P. 57, l. 7. Sherlock. William Sherlock (1641 ?-1707) was appointed Master of the Temple in 1685 and Dean of St. Paul's in 1691. For the many references to him in the *History*, see the Index.

P. 57, l. 8. Tillotson. John Tillotson (1630-1694), preacher at Lincoln's Inn and lecturer at St. Lawrence Jewry, was appointed Dean of Canterbury in 1670, Canon of St. Paul's in 1675, Dean of St. Paul's in 1689, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1691. For Macaulay's estimate of his preaching see the *History*, chapter xiv. (ii. 111), and for many references to him see the Index.

P. 57, l. 8. Wake. William Wake (1657-1737), preacher at Gray's Inn from 1688 to 1696, was appointed Dean of Exeter in 1708, Bishop of Lincoln in 1705, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1716.

P. 57, l. 8. Jeremy Collier (1650-1726), appointed lecturer at Gray's Inn in 1685, published his "Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage" in 1698. This involved him in a long controversy with Dryden and other playwrights. See Macaulay's Essay on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration and the *History*, chapter xiv. (ii. 106).

Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, having refused to take the oath was deprived of his office. He could not "bear to think that the animosity which he had excited would die with himself. Having done all that he could to make the feud bitter he determined to make it eternal." He consecrated as bishops two Non-jurors who in turn consecrated others—including Collier. See the *History*, chapter xvii. (ii. 260).

P. 57, l. 9. Burnet. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) was appointed chaplain of the Rolls Chapel in 1675 and, having made himself obnoxious to Charles, was ejected in 1684. He played a prominent part in the events which led to the Revolution and was rewarded with the bishopric of Salisbury. He was a prolific writer. His "History of his Own Times" must be carefully read by every serious student of the period, and his "History of the Reformation" is an able and interesting work. For many references to him, see the Index of the *History*.

P. 57, l. 9. **Stillingfleet.** Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699) became Canon of St. Paul's in 1667 and Dean in 1678. He was appointed Bishop of Worcester the year after the Revolution.

P. 57, l. 10. **Patrick.** John Patrick (1632-1695) distinguished himself as a champion of Protestantism during the reign of James II. He was preacher at the Charterhouse from 1671 till his death, but I have not been able to trace his connection with St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

P. 57, l. 11. **Fowler.** Edward Fowler (1632-1714) was appointed vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in 1681 and suspended in 1685 for holding opinions unpalatable to the court. His arguments and example helped the London clergy to decide against reading the Declaration of Indulgence in their churches. He was created Bishop of Gloucester in 1691.

P. 57, l. 12. **Sharp.** John Sharp (1645-1714) was appointed rector of St. Giles's in the Fields in 1675. He lost the favour of the court in 1687 for preaching sermons supposed to reflect on the king. After the Revolution he became Dean of Canterbury and Archbishop of York.

P. 57, l. 12. **Tenison.** Thomas Tenison (1636-1715) became rector of St. Martin's in the Fields in 1680, Bishop of Lincoln in 1691, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1694. He attended both Mary and William on their death-beds.

P. 57, l. 13. **Sprat.** Thomas Sprat (1635-1713) was appointed curate and lecturer at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1679. He was a man of much versatility, being a poet of some repute, an excellent writer of prose, and one of the founders of the Royal Society. He was made Dean of Westminster in 1688 and Bishop of Rochester in 1684. As Dean he read the Declaration of Indulgence. For Macaulay's estimate of his character, see the *History*, chapter xviii. (ii. 361), and for many other references to him, see the Index.

P. 57, l. 13. **Beveridge.** William Beveridge (1637-1708) became vicar of St. Peter's, Cornhill, in 1672, and Bishop of St. Asaph in 1704. His religious works occupy many volumes but are little read now.

P. 57, l. 18. **George Bull** (1634-1710), whose life was written by Robert Nelson, author of "The Fasts and Festivals of the English Church," became Bishop of St. David's in 1705. He published his "Harmonica Apostolica" and "Defensio Fidelis Nicene" while holding rural livings in Gloucestershire.

P. 57, l. 21. **By the sale of which.** Nelson says (p. 347) that Bull for the purpose of writing his learned works while only a country rector "found himself very early under a necessity of making such a provision of books as might enable him to carry on his theological studies which cost him several hundred pounds". His living being worth only about a hundred a year he "was under a necessity of selling his patrimonial estate". It would have strengthened Macaulay's argument more to quote the passage (p. 42) in which Nelson states that Bull used "to make a journey once a year to the University of Oxford to enjoy the benefit and advantage of the public libraries".

P. 57, l. 23. **Footnote.** Thomas Bray (1656-1730) was the author and promotor of a scheme for establishing parochial libraries in every deanery for the use of the clergy.

P. 53, l. 20. **Hobbes or Bossuet.** Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (1588-1679), the author of "Leviathan," is named as a typical writer against Christianity, and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), the author of the "Oraisons Funébres" and several controversial works, as a typical writer against Protestantism.

P. 58, l. 2. **Halifax.** Sir George Savile (1633-1695), created in succession Baron Savile, Viscount, Earl and Marquis of Halifax, was a leading statesman under Charles II., James II., and William III. His evenly balanced mind earned him the reputation of a "Trimmer," which often prevented his having that weight in the State to which his abilities and character entitled him. For Macaulay's estimate of him, see the *History*, chapter II. (i. 119), and for the large part which he played in the Revolution, see the Index.

P. 58, l. 12. **Tithe sheaves and tithe pigs.** Tithes were formerly paid not in money but in kind, and the person actually collected not only the tenth sheaf and the tenth pig but the tenth calf, colt, hen, duck, etc.

P. 58, l. 26. **Latitudinarianism** was a term applied specially to those divines of the seventeenth century who were attached to the Church of England but regarded government by bishops and the forms of worship as things indifferent, and would not exclude men who failed to agree with them respecting such matters. Their leaders were Chillingworth and Hales.

P. 58, l. 20. **Lawn and . . . scarlet hoods,** the lawn sleeves of the bishops and the scarlet hoods of the doctors of divinity.

P. 59, l. 3. **The doctrines** (1) that nothing could forfeit the divine right of a king to the throne which came (or should have come) to him by inheritance; (2) that it was the duty of subjects to obey him in all circumstances except when ordered to sin; and (3) that it was never lawful to resist him under any provocation or pretext whatever.

P. 59, l. 9. **The Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act** were two of the laws passed in the early part of the reign of Charles II. to prevent Nonconformist worship and harass Nonconformist clergy.

P. 59, l. 28. **The Order of St. Francis of Assisi**, founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was subjected to vows of the severest poverty. It spread very rapidly over Western Europe.

P. 59, l. 37. **A Gazette** here means simply a newspaper. See Note to p. 117, l. 13.

P. 60, l. 9. **The Oxford Parliament.** The Parliament elected in 1681 was so violently set on passing the Exclusion Bill that Charles summoned it to meet at Oxford, so that the opposition members should not receive the support of the London populace.

P. 60, l. 28. **A hundred and sixty thousand proprietors.** The following are the figures for agricultural holdings in England and Wales in 1908:—

	<i>Owned or mainly owned.</i>	<i>Rented or mainly rented.</i>
Not exceeding 5 acres	14,234	75,724
5 to 50 acres	25,984	171,234
50 to 300 acres	12,348	115,516
Over 300 acres	2,303	12,738
Totals	54,869	375,212

If Macaulay's estimate is correct, persons tilling their own land formed in 1685 one in thirty-four of the population; in 1908 they formed one in six hundred and forty-four.

P. 61, l. 4. The Rye House Plot to murder Charles and James as they were passing the Rye House at Broxbourne (1683).

P. 61, l. 15. Only four provincial towns, Bristol, Norwich, York, and Exeter.

P. 61, l. 24. Pepys. The entry in Pepys' Diary to which Macaulay alludes is the following (13th June, 1668): "The city . . . is in every respect another London that one can hardly know it to stand in the country no more than that. No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog-carts."

P. 61, l. 34. A few churches. The Church of St. Mary Redcliffe is one of the most beautiful parish churches in the country.

P. 62, l. 10. The hospitality. Macaulay is again paraphrasing Pepys: "And did give us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison pasty, cold, and plenty of brave wine, and above all Bristol milk". The "dressing in the furnace" is an amplification of Evelyn who says (27th June, 1654) that he had eggs fried in the sugar furnace.

P. 62, l. 17. Plantations, colonies.

P. 62, l. 25. Crimping. North, in the "Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford," says: "It is remarkable there [Bristol] that all men that are dealers even in shop trades launch into adventures by sea, chiefly to the West India plantations and Spain. A poor shopkeeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings or a piece of stuff for Nevis or Virginia, etc., and rather than fail they trade in men." North then describes the method of the crimping and kidnapping, and reports the "scouring" which the mayor and aldermen received from Judge Jeffreys.

P. 62, l. 37. The population of Bristol was 329,945 in 1901.

P. 63, l. 4. A Chapter, the clergy of the cathedral (with the dean at their head).

P. 63, l. 5. The chief manufacture, the woollen.

P. 63, l. 6. Some men . . . science. The most famous was Sir Thomas Browne, author of "Religio Medici," etc. Thomas Allen, Non-conformist divine; John Cosin, Bishop of Durham; and William Rawley (or Rawleigh), Bacon's chaplain and editor, were also Norwich men of the time.

P. 63, l. 12. Fellows of the Royal Society. About half of Macaulay's description is taken from the Diary (17th October, 1671) of John Evelyn,

who was a Fellow of the Royal Society. He visited Sir Thomas Browne, "his whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities and that of the best collection, especially medals, books, plants, and natural things".

P. 63, l. 15. Dukes of Norfolk. One or two details are taken from Evelyn, the rest from the Diary of Edward (not T. as Macaulay states in the footnote on p. 64), the son of Sir Thomas Browne.

P. 63, l. 25. Earl of Arundel. Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), was the first Englishman to form a considerable art collection. It included gems, sculptures, pictures, and the "marbles" brought from Smyrna which were presented to the University of Oxford in 1667 by his grandson, Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk.

P. 64, l. 10. St. Peter Mancroft, a very fine old church standing near the Market Place, near which also stood the palace of the Dukes.

P. 64, l. 13. The population of Norwich in 1901 was 111,733.

P. 64, l. 27. Javelins and trumpets. The sheriff, accompanied by his tenants wearing his livery and carrying javelins, used to meet the judges at the county boundary, escort them to the assize town, attend on them during the trials, and afterwards escort them out of the county. Trumpets were blown when the judges arrived at the court.

P. 65, l. 9. The Nevilles . . . Cromwell. The Nevilles (the family to which the "King-maker" Earl of Warwick belonged) and the De Veres (of which the Earls of Oxford had been head since the twelfth century) took as prominent a part in the Wars of the Roses as Rupert and Cromwell in the Civil War. For a brief account of the De Veres, see the *History*, chapter viii. (l. 484).

P. 65, l. 13. York . . . Exeter . . . Worcester . . . Nottingham . . . Gloucester . . . Derby . . . Shrewsbury. In 1901 the population of York was 77,914, of Exeter 47,185, of Worcester 46,634, of Nottingham 280,748, of Gloucester 47,955, of Derby 105,912, of Shrewsbury 28,395.

P. 65, l. 18. Resolute defence. The Welsh would not march to the assistance of Charles till Gloucester was taken. He therefore besieged the city but the London trained bands relieved it.

P. 65, l. 22. The Court of the Marches or Borders. Edward IV. established the Court of the President and Council of Wales which was continued, though with diminished power, when Henry VIII. incorporated Wales with England. It was dissolved in 1689. The official residence of the President was Ludlow Castle, but he and his court paid frequent visits to Shrewsbury, where they lived in the Council House.

P. 65, l. 24. The Wrekin, an isolated hill about 1300 feet high, two miles from Wellington. Macaulay was thinking of Farquhar's play, "The Recruiting Officer," written in 1706, after the author had stayed in the town as recruiting officer. It is dedicated "To all friends round the Wrekin".

P. 65, l. 25. To go to town. In "The Recruiting Officer" Sylvia, entering Melinda's apartment in Shrewsbury, is received with the words "Welcome to town" (Act I. sc. ii.). In Macaulay's time "town," without an article, was used for London (as it is still).

P. 66, l. 27. Writers of the time of Charles II. Macaulay was thinking chiefly of Fuller, a passage from whose "Worthies of England" (written in 1662) is quoted in Baines' "History of the Cotton Manufacture" (p. 101).

P. 66, l. 31. Whitney. Eli Whitney (1765-1825) "did for the cotton planters of the United States what Arkwright did for the manufacturers of England. He invented a machine by which the cotton-wool is separated from the pod, and cleaned with the greatest expedition, and in this way doubled the wealth and industry of his countrymen."—McCulloch, i. 682.

P. 66, l. 33. Arkwright. Richard Arkwright (1732-1792) after prospering as a barber turned his attention to the simplification of the textile manufacture, and invented a machine capable of performing every process in the production of yarn.

P. 67, l. 2. The whole annual import in 1906 was 2,060,697,744 lbs. Macaulay estimated the daily demand in 1848 at a million pounds; it is now nearly seven million pounds.

P. 67, l. 6. Population. In 1901 the population of Manchester was 543,872 (or, if the adjoining Salford be included, 764,829).

P. 67, l. 7. Berlin, Madrid, and Lisbon. Manchester (even with Salford included) no longer surpasses Berlin, which in 1905 had a population of 2,040,148. In 1900 the population of Madrid was 530,835 and of Lisbon 356,009.

P. 67, l. 16. The Red House (or Hall) is said to have been so called because it was one of the first brick houses in Yorkshire. Charles I. lived in it for some time during the Civil War.

P. 67, l. 30. Seven thousand souls. In 1901 the population of Leeds was 428,968.

P. 68, l. 4. Hallamshire was an ancient lordship on the southern border of the West Riding. It is mentioned in Domesday Book.

P. 68, l. 6. Whittles, knives. Whittle is a corruption of *thwitel*.

P. 68, l. 8. One of his "Canterbury Tales," the Reeve's Tale, which opens with a description of the rich choleric miller of Trumpington, who carried a sword in his belt, a dagger in his pouch, and a whistle in his stocking—

"A Scheffeld thwitel bar he in his hose".

P. 68, l. 14. Court leet, a court for regulating the affairs of a manor.

P. 68, l. 28. Four thousand. In 1901 the population of Sheffield was 380,798.

P. 69, l. 14. Birmingham. In the passage from the "Examen" to which Macaulay refers, North says the Tories called the Whigs "Birmingham Protestants, alluding to the false groats counterfeited at that place". In a ballad of the time the Duke of York is said to be—

"Tho top
And chief among the princes,
No mobile gay top
With Birmingham pretences";

and in the address prefixed to "Absalom and Achitophel" (see Note to p. 133, l. 28) Dryden calls the Tories "Anti-Brominghams".

P. 69, l. 14. The population of Birmingham in 1901 was 522,204.

P. 69, l. 19. Baskerville. John Baskerville (1706-1775) had followed several trades in Birmingham before he began to occupy himself with type-founding. He ultimately succeeded in making letters never surpassed for beauty. The Bible, Milton, Virgil, and Horace are amongst the most famous of his productions, but any work printed by him commands a good price.

P. 70, l. 9. Liverpool. In 1901 the population of Liverpool was 684,958.

P. 70, l. 10. Shipping registered. In 1908 there were registered at Liverpool 857 sailing ships with a tonnage of 841,551, and 1,326 steamships with a tonnage of 2,510,124.

P. 70, l. 22. A rival city, Birkenhead, which in 1901 had a population of 110,915.

P. 70, l. 33. Indiaman. Macaulay described the ship in which he returned from India as "a huge floating palace," though her tonnage was only 750. Liverpool now has 295 ships of over 3,000 tons each, and some of the Atlantic liners exceed 30,000 tons.

P. 71, l. 8. Cheltenham in 1901 had a population of 52,838.

P. 71, l. 17. Brighton in 1901 had a population of 123,478, and the adjoining Hove a population of 36,585.

P. 72, l. 6. Buxton in 1901 had a population of 10,181.

P. 72, l. 10. The spring. Buxton owes much of its prosperity to a mineral spring, the water of which is reputed efficacious in rheumatic complaints.

P. 72, l. 20. Tunbridge Wells in 1901 had a population of 33,373. Macaulay's description is taken from Grammont's "Memoirs" (see Note to p. 142, l. 5).

P. 73, l. 5. The London Gazette. See Note to p. 117, l. 13.

P. 73, l. 6. Basset, a card game very fashionable towards the close of the seventeenth century.

P. 73, l. 13. St. Charles the Martyr, Charles I. The Common Prayer Book had from the Restoration till 1859 "a form of prayer with fasting to be used on the 30th of January, being the day of the martyrdom of the blessed King Charles I." It was headed "King Charles the Martyr".

P. 73, l. 16. Days of the Romans. Adjoining the modern Pump-Room are extensive ruins of a very fine bath built by the Romans.

P. 73, l. 19. King . . . court there, as in 1663, when Charles II. (attended by the Duke of York and Prince Rupert) visited the city, and in gratitude for its loyalty granted a new charter.

P. 73, l. 21. An old wall. The position of the wall is indicated by the names of three of the existing streets—Northgate, Southgate, and Westgate Streets. The east gate is still standing (at the back of the Empire Hotel).

P. 73, l. 25. **Ratcliffe Highway** (now called St. George Street) is one of the meanest riverside streets, east of London Bridge.

P. 73, l. 29. **Bramante and Palladio**, two of the most famous Italian architects. The magnificent parades, crescents, and circuses of Bath were mostly designed by John Wood or his son.

P. 73, l. 30. **Anstey**. Christopher Anstey (1724-1805), the author of an immensely popular humorous poem, "The New Bath Guide or the Memoirs of the B—n—r—d [Blunderhead] Family".

P. 73, l. 30. **Smollett . . . Burney . . . Austen**, all describe the life of Bath in their novels.

P. 73, l. 33. **Milsom Street** in Macaulay's day contained the most fashionable lodgings; it now contains the most fashionable shops.

P. 74, l. 1. **The Crescent**, the Royal Crescent, a noble pile of buildings in a commanding situation.

P. 74, l. 1. **The Circus**, some handsome houses arranged in a circle at the top of Gay Street.

P. 74, l. 10. A writer, John Wood, the architect, who published in 1749 "An Essay towards a Description of Bath".

P. 75, l. 4. **London**. In 1901 the population of the administrative county of London was 4,536,541, of the City 26,923, and of "Greater London" 6,581,372. London now bears about the same proportion to Liverpool and Manchester (including Salford) as in the days of Macaulay; there has not been much change in its relation to Bristol since the days of Charles II., but it is now forty times as populous as Norwich.

P. 75, l. 18. **Amsterdam** in 1907 had a population of 565,656—one-twelfth of the population of Greater London. The tonnage of the vessels which entered it in 1907 was 1,677,252. The tonnage of the vessels entering the port of London the same year from foreign ports was 11,160,367 and from British ports 5,783,727.

P. 75, l. 27. **The shipping**. In 1908 there were registered in the port of London 1,446 sailing ships with a tonnage of 226,498, and 1,888 steamships with a tonnage of 1,999,673. The tonnage of the ships registered in the Tyne ports was 670,523.

P. 76, l. 5. **Maps of London**. Macaulay probably had in mind John Ogilby's map, published in 1677. This shows the country coming up to Gny's Inn Lane on the west (with the exception of High Holborn and the Strand); on the north to Clerkenwell and Shoreditch, and on the east (with the exception of Whitechapel) to Brick Lane. Beyond the houses are "Pastures," "Gardeners" [Market] Gardens," "Bowling Greens," "Artillery [Archery] Fields," etc.

P. 76, l. 15. **Artificial lakes, docks**.

P. 76, l. 19. **Chelsea**. The Parliamentary borough of Chelsea had a population of 95,086 in 1901.

P. 76, l. 25. **Finsbury and . . . the Tower Hamlets**. When Macaulay wrote, Finsbury and the Tower Hamlets were two of the ten parliamentary boroughs into which London (without the City) was divided. It has since been redivided into twenty-eight municipal boroughs. In the days

of Charles II. the greater part of which is now Finsbury was covered by Moorfields which, reaching almost to the river, cut the town north of the Thames in two.

P. 76, l. 26. *Islington*. Cowley's "Essay on Solitude" (to which Macaulay refers) ends with the lines:—

"Let but thy wicked men from out thee [London] go
And all the fools that crowd thee so,
Ev'n thou, who dost thy millions boast,
A village less than Islington wilt grow,
A solitude almost."

P. 77, l. 4. *Crazy houses*. The houses built on the arches right across the river had towards the end of the reign of George II. become so crazy that they had to be removed. Sixty years later the bridge itself was beyond repair and a new bridge was built.

P. 77, l. 6. *Scores of mouldering heads*. The heads of traitors and criminals were stuck on poles placed above the bridge. An old cut showing only a small part of the bridge is garnished with sixteen.

P. 77, l. 6. *Impeded the navigation*. The arches were so small that only boats could pass through, and it was dangerous for even boats to pass—hence the saying that "London Bridge was made for wise men to go over and fools to go under".

P. 77, l. 16. *In a few days*. The fire broke out at one o'clock in the morning of Sunday, 2nd September, 1666, and was finally overcome on the next Thursday.

P. 77, l. 85. *Wren*. Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) was appointed "surveyor-general and principal architect for rebuilding the whole City" after the Great Fire. Besides St. Paul's Cathedral he designed fifty-two of the new churches.

P. 78, l. 1. *Were still to be seen*. The rebuilding of St. Paul's was a slow process. The clearing of the site began in 1668; Wren's first design was not completed till 1678; no part of the new cathedral was opened for service till the thanksgiving for the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 and the whole work was not reported finished till 1716.

P. 78, l. 3. *Footnote. Bricks*. The historian of the Grand Duke Cosmo says (p. 893): "The houses . . . are built of wood and ill-baked bricks".

P. 78, l. 18. *Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street*. Threadneedle Street contains the Bank of England and Lombard Street a number of the other chief banks.

P. 79, l. 14. *Sir Robert Clayton (1629-1707)*, Alderman, Lord Mayor and Member for the City. In the Parliament of 1681 he moved for leave to bring in the Exclusion Bill. He is described by Macaulay as "the wealthiest merchant of London, whose palace in the Old Jewry surpassed in splendour the aristocratical mansions of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden, whose villa [at Bletchingley] among the Surrey hills was described as a garden of Eden, whose banquets vied with those of kings, and whose judicious munificence . . . had obtained for him in the annals of the City a place second only to that of Gresham."—*History*, chapter x. (i. 638).

P. 79, l. 17. **Gods and giants.** Evelyn says (under date 26th—not 20th—September, 1672): "The cedar dining-room is painted with the history of the Giants' War incomparably done by Mr. Streeter".

P. 79, l. 17. **Sir Dudley North** (1641-1691), the son of Lord North, was apprenticed to a Turkey merchant. After making a fortune in the East he returned to England, settling in the City, becoming sheriff, commissioner for the customs, and commissioner for the Treasury. For Macaulay's estimate of his character, see the *History*, chapter iv. (i. 253).

P. 79, l. 20. **Basinghall Street.** Macaulay has tripped here. North says: "He parted with his house in Basinghall Street and took that great one behind Goldsmiths' Hall. . . . He furnished it richly. . . . The whole cost him at least four thousand pounds."

P. 80, l. 5. **Taken away**, in 1683. See the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 132). The charter was restored after the Revolution.

P. 80, l. 17. **Temple Bar**, the western boundary of the City.

P. 80, l. 18. **The great companies**, the ancient, wealthy guilds of merchants and traders, e.g., the Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Merchant Taylors, Drapers, Mercers, Grocers.

P. 80, l. 20. **Poet laureate.** The City for many years had a poet whose duty it was to celebrate in an ode the Lord Mayor's procession. The last to hold the office was Elkanah Settle (1648-1724), of whom Pope wrote:

"Now night descending, the proud scene [the Lord Mayor's show] was o'er,
But lived in Settle's numbers one day more."

P. 80, l. 25. **Huzzaing.** North says (p. 617): "It is not to be denied but at merry meetings good fellowship in way of healths run into some extravagance and noise, as that which they called 'huzzaing,' an usage then at its perfection".

P. 81, l. 3. **Jewel.** Macaulay paraphrases Chamberlayne's account of the "state and magnificence" of the Lord Mayor who wore "a great chain of gold about his neck . . . with a great rich jewel pendent thereon".

P. 81, l. 11. **During five and forty years.** Since 1640, when the Long Parliament met. William Gough published in 1682 a work of 874 pages called "*Londinum Triumphans, or an Historical Account of the grand Influence the Actions of the City of London have had upon the Affairs of the Nation for many Ages past*". Speaking of Charles I., the author says (p. 852): "'Tis plain beyond denial, dispute, or contradiction, out of the memory of man and the everlasting records of time, that in the late wars between him and his two Houses of Parliament 'twas the City's power and influence that raised them to that height of grandeur which made them so formidable to all the Royal party. Whereas, without her help and assistance, how little able they had been to have long subsisted or held up their heads above ground is evident from the many supplies they had from London of men, money, and arms, the frequent applications they made to her on all extremities, and the constant endeavours they used to cultivate her friendship and preserve her affections."

P. 81, l. 14. **A government . . . island**, e.g., after the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, when the Common Council of the City

found him \$200,000 in forty-eight hours on the security of his word alone, though James, a few weeks before, had been unable to procure a much smaller sum even when offering to pledge valuable property. See the *History*, chapter x. (i. 630).

P. 81, l. 35. **Hampden and Pym**, with the rest of the "Five Members," took refuge in the City when Charles I. tried to seize them in 1642.

P. 82, l. 10. **Without the help**. On 6th February, 1660, the City (which had no members in the Rump Parliament) declared that it would pay no taxes as it had no representatives. Monk was ordered to coerce the citizens but he fraternised with them and by their help effected the Restoration.

P. 82, l. 17. **Shaftesbury**. Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621-1683), first Earl of Shaftesbury, minister and opponent of Charles, the promoter of the Exclusion Bill, lived in a house which had been the town residence of the Earls of Thanet. It is now nos. 35 to 38 Aldersgate Street. (There is a picture of it in "Old and New London".)

P. 82, l. 25. **Inigo Jones** (1573-1632), designer of the scenery for the court masques of James I., architect of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and of many other London buildings.

P. 82, l. 26. **His mansion, York House**. The names of George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street and Buckingham Street still recall its site.

P. 83, l. 1. **Hotels** (in the French sense of the word), stately town houses.

P. 83, l. 2. **The Strand**. The mansions of the noble families of Northumberland, Bedford, Salisbury, Norfolk, and Worcester stood in the Strand.

P. 83, l. 3. **Lincoln's Inn Fields** had the mansions of the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Cardigan, and the Earl of Powis.

P. 83, l. 8. **The Piazza**. There were two piazzas at Covent Garden. From 1666 to 1700 they were tenanted by the Countesses of Berkshire; Lords Hollis, Brownlow, Lucas, Newport and Barkham; the Bishops of Durham and St. David's; the Duke of Richmond; the Earls of Oxford, Bedford, Sussex, and Peterborough, etc.

P. 83, l. 4. **Southampton Square**. This belongs to the Dukes of Bedford. In Stuart times it contained the town residences of the Earl of Southampton and of Lords Paget, Carlisle, Northampton, etc.

P. 83, l. 24. **Southampton House**, belonging to the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton, stood on the north side of the square, near where the British Museum now stands.

P. 83, l. 29. **Montague House**, to the west of Southampton House, was erected in 1678 and burnt down on 19th January, 1685. Its successor was the first home of the British Museum.

• P. 84, l. 6. **St. James's Church**, built by Harry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, was consecrated on 13th July, 1684.

P. 84, l. 8. **Golden Square**, off Regent Street, eastward. It was built on the Pest House Field soon after the Revolution.

P. 84, l. 14. **Dunkirk House.** See Note to p. 84, l. 25.

P. 84, l. 27. **A spring.** This was in a meadow on which New Bond Street and the neighbouring streets now stand.

P. 85, l. 31. **Mumper, beggar.**

P. 86, l. 6. **Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738)** became Master of the Rolls in July, 1717.

P. 86, l. 13. **The ring, the space (whether enclosed or not) set apart for wrestling, fighting, etc.**

P. 86, l. 16. **First-magnates.** The Dukes of Norfolk and Ormond, the Earls of Kent and Pembroke. King George III. was born in Norfolk House. The square was enclosed early in the reign of George II.

P. 87, l. 5. **Several facetious poets.** Particularly Swift (in his "Description of a City Shower") and Gay (in his "Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London").

P. 87, l. 6. **Black rivulets.**

"Now from all parts the swelling kennels flow . . .

Sweepings from butchers' stalls . . .

Drowned puppies, stinking sprats, all drenched in mud,

Dead cats and turnip-tops, come tumbling down the flood."—SWIFT.

P. 87, l. 13. **Gave the wall,** allowed another to pass between them and the wall.

"Let due civilities be strictly paid,

The wall surrender to the hooded maid . . .

But when the bully with assuming pace

Cocks his broad hat, edged round with tarnished lace,

Yield not the way; defy his strutting pride

And thrust him to the muddy kennel's side;

He never turns again nor dares oppose,

But mutters coward curses as he goes."—GAY.

P. 87, l. 19. **Behind Montague House,** a favourite place for duels.

P. 87, l. 20. **Footnote. Johnson.** His mother said that when she lived in London there were two sorts of people, those who gave the wall and those who took it,—the peaceful and the quarrelsome. When he visited her at Lichfield she asked him to which sort he belonged.

P. 87, l. 23. **Chairmen, men who carried Sedan chairs.**

P. 88, l. 17. **Muns . . . Scourers,** are all different names for the same kind of fashionable ruffian. Shadwell in his play "The Scourers" makes one of the characters say (l. i.), "Why, I knew the Hector's, and before them the Muns and the Tityre Tus". The last took their name from the opening words of Vergil's First Eclogue.

P. 88, l. 20. **Dreaded . . . Mohawk.** For an illustration of the "dreaded" Mohawk, see the account in No. 335 of the "Spectator" of Sir Roger de Coverley's visit to the play. See also No. 324.

P. 88, l. 21. **Footnote. The noble lines.** "Paradise Lost," l. 498-502.

P. 89, l. 6. **Police.** Macaulay uses the word several times in this chapter in the sense of civil administration, enforcement of law (never in the sense of policemen).

P. 89, l. 9. Edward Heming. The "Dictionary of National Biography" gives the Christian name as Edmund.

P. 89, l. 26. Inventions of Archimedes. The water-screw, the lever, etc.

P. 90, l. 11. White hoods. The monks were called the White Friars.

P. 90, l. 12. A sanctuary was a church where a person guilty of any crime except treason or sacrilege was safe from arrest. The Whitefriars district lay south of Fleet Street and east of the Temple. "Alsatia" (as it was known in Stuart times) is described fully in Scott's "Fortunes of Nigel". For an account of the abolition of its privilege, see the *History*, chapter xxii. (ii. 616).

P. 90, l. 35. Somers . . . Newton. Somers, William's Lord Chancellor, studied law in the Middle Temple; Tillotson preached in the Temple Church; Dryden passed judgment in Will's Coffee-house, near Drury Lane Theatre; and the Royal Society met at Gresham College in Bishopsgate.

P. 91, l. 14. Coronets . . . bedchamber, honours and offices.

P. 91, l. 20. Cornish borough. Some places privileged to return members to Parliament had very few voters and these obediently "elected" the persons nominated by the landlords. The possession of "pocket boroughs" therefore gave political power. Cornwall had more than its share of them: it had forty-four members while Middlesex (including the Cities of London and Westminster) had only eight.

P. 91, l. 24. Not of George . . . Pelham, not of the king but of the minister.

P. 91, l. 31. Several kings. William III., George I., and George II.

P. 92, l. 24. This courtier got command of a vessel in the navy or of a company in a regiment.

P. 92, l. 30. Footnote. Wright. Roger North tells in the "Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford" (ii. 97) how Nathan Wright though "a dunce and no lawyer; not worth a groat, having spent his estate by debauched living; of no truth nor honesty" was made a judge by the intrigues of the still more infamous Jeffreys.

P. 92, l. 30. Footnote. Sir George Savile, afterwards Marquis of Halifax. (See Note to p. 58, l. 3.) The story (too long to quote) is told in Clarendon's "Life" (iii. 566).

P. 93, l. 3. What the word imports. *Levée*=a rising, a getting up.

P. 93, l. 9. Hazard, a game at dice.

P. 93, l. 13. A state prisoner. Charles II., hoping to recover England with the aid of the Scots, accepted the very hard terms which they made the condition of his recognition as their king. Though he was never actually a State prisoner, a State prisoner's liberty of action could hardly have been less. The defeat at Dunbar lost him Scotland and the defeat of Worcester destroyed his chance of recovering England.

P. 93, l. 19. Marvel. Andrew Marvel (1621-1673), poet, tutor to Fairfax's daughter, Milton's assistant as secretary for foreign tongues, member for Hull, and incorruptible patriot. Though an "austere re-

publican" he was the author of the oft-quoted lines describing the bearing of Charles I. on the scaffold—

"He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene," etc.

P. 93, l. 27. *Staple*, mart, exchange, market.

P. 93, l. 35. *Sobiesky*. See Note to p. 15, l. 25.

P. 93, l. 37. *Really at Paris*. In May, 1684, the French bombarded Genoa. The citizens, after behaving with considerable spirit, were obliged to tender formal submission to Louis. Europe was for some time curious as to whether they would send an embassy, but curiosity was satisfied when the doge and four senators reached Paris.

P. 94, l. 3. *Had Halifax got the better of Rochester?* As a wit, not as a politician.

P. 94, l. 4. *Was there to be a Parliament?* This was a vital question after the dissolution both of the Cavalier Parliament in 1679 and of the short Parliaments which followed it.

P. 94, l. 4. *The Duke of York*, sent to Brussels in 1679 to be out of the way, was recalled on the king's falling ill, and, after the king's recovery, sent to Scotland.

P. 94, l. 5. *Had Monmouth . . . Hague?* This question must have interested the courtiers both in 1679 and 1684.

P. 94, l. 18. *For years*. Since March, 1681.

P. 94, l. 19. *Had ceased to speak the sense of the citizens*. Since 1683 when the City's charter had been declared forfeit.

P. 94, l. 28. *A Turkey merchant*, Daniel Edwards, who set up the first coffee-house about 1656.

P. 95, l. 10. *During Danby's administration*. On 29th December, 1676, when a proclamation was published revoking the licences of all the coffee-houses. In 1666 Clarendon, because "of the foulest aspersions . . . laid upon the Government" in the talk of the coffee-houses, advised either closing them or employing "some spies who being present in the conversation might be ready to charge and accuse the persons who had talked with most freedom".

P. 95, l. 13. *An universal*. Before words beginning with a *u* sound (e.g., *Europe, university*) it is usual to write *a*, but Macaulay invariably writes *an*.

P. 95, l. 25. *The Grecian* was in the Strand.

P. 95, l. 25. *The Rainbow*, in Fleet Street, was the second London coffee-house started.

P. 96, l. 3. *Lord Foppington*, a character in Vanbrugh's comedy "The Relapse". Here is an example of his "dialect":—"Faith, Tam, [Tom], I must beg you'll excuse me . . . for I must away to the House of Lords".

P. 96, l. 16. *Will's Coffee-house* (kept by Will Urwin) was at the north-west corner of Russell Street, Covent Garden.

P. 96, l. 19. *The unities of place and time*, the "classical" drama.

tists' (self-imposed) rule that the scene of a play should not shift from place to place and that the whole series of incidents represented should be supposed to have occurred within a brief time (say, a day).

P. 96, l. 20. Perrault . . . Boileau. The partisans of the moderns held that as knowledge grew from age to age it was foolish to imitate slavishly the great writings of Greece and Rome, however excellent. The partisans of the ancients held that the excellence of these writings made them the proper pattern for all futurity. Charles Perrault (1628-1703) was for a time the champion of the moderns and Nicolas Boileau (1636-1711) of the ancients. From France the contest spread to England.

P. 96, l. 23. In rhyme. Dryden had converted "Paradise Lost" into a rhyming opera, "The Fall of Angels and Man in Innocence".

P. 96, l. 24. "Venice Preserved," a play by Otway produced in 1682 and sometimes deemed "the greatest tragedy out of Shakespeare".

P. 96, l. 28. Templars, law students or barristers from the Temple. ✓

P. 96, l. 29. Translators and index-makers, persons who, wanting the learning or the genius for original writing, were fain to do hack work for the publishers.

P. 97, l. 1. Racine's last tragedy. Racine's tragedies range in point of time from "La Thébaïde" (1664) to "Athalie" (1691).

P. 97, l. 2. Bossu's popular "Traité du poème épique" was first published in 1675.

P. 97, l. 6. Dr. John Radcliffe (1650-1714), after practising for some time at Oxford, removed in 1684 to London, where his fees soon amounted to twenty guineas a day. He is noted no less for his candour than for his skill, and did not hesitate to tell even a princess that her maladies were chiefly imaginary. He founded the Radcliffe Infirmary and Observatory at Oxford.

P. 97, l. 11. Garraway's Coffee-house was in Change Alley, Cornhill.

P. 97, l. 14. Election is used in different senses by different churches. To the Puritans it meant the doctrine that God has foreordained certain men to eternal life. Its counterpart is Reprobation, the doctrine that the rest are foreordained to perdition. ✓

P. 97, l. 19. Another great fire. Protestants generally believed and the inscription on the Monument expressly declared that the Great Fire was caused by "popistical malice". Pope, who was a Papist, resented the imputation and wrote:—

"Where London's column, pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies".

P. 98, l. 16. Money-droppers, swindlers who, quietly dropping a coin, picked it up in the presence of a likely victim, offered to share it with him, and thus passed off counterfeit coin for good change. ✓

P. 98, l. 17. Cart's tail. Whipping was one of the regular punishments of rogues and vagabonds, who were often tied to a cart and drawn through the streets while the castigation was inflicted. ✓

P. 98, l. 20. Lewkner Lane, at the top of Drury Lane and Whet-

stone Park, Lincoln's Inn Fields, were infamous as a resort of the persons to whom Macaulay alludes.

P. 98, l. 21. If he asked his way to a place in the West End he was directed to a place in the East End.

P. 98, l. 26. Copper rings, passed off as gold.

P. 99, l. 19. That principle, the use of steam as a motive power.

P. 99, l. 25. The Marquess of Worcester. Edward Somerset (1601-1667) served Charles I. faithfully during the Civil War (when he was Earl of Glamorgan). He was disavowed by the king and lived in poverty during the Protectorate, spending his time in mechanical experiments. In 1655 he wrote "A Century of . . . Inventions," though it was not published till 1663. The sixty-eighth of the hundred he described as "an admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire". This was a very ingenious anticipation of the steam pumping engine.

P. 99, l. 35. The Royal Society. See p. 130.

P. 100, l. 1. Made of timber. North ("Life of Guilford," i. 281) says coals were carried "by laying rails of timber from the colliery to the river, exactly straight and parallel, and bulky carts are made with four rowlets fitting these rails".

P. 100, l. 5. Deepen and embank. The first Act for the purpose was passed in 1899.

P. 100, l. 7. Canal. The first canal was constructed at Exeter in 1544. It was less than two miles long, and the first patent for locks and weirs (without which long canals are impossible) was not granted till 1617.

P. 100, l. 9. The immense trench. The Canal of Languedoc, of the South, or of the Two Seas connected the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. This was projected by Henry IV. but carried out by Louis XIV. It was opened in 1681.

P. 100, l. 14. Making up . . . together. The total length of the English canals in Macaulay's time was about 2,400 miles. The total length is now a thousand miles more, but with the development of railways some of the canals have fallen out of use.

P. 100, l. 26. Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), a Leeds antiquary and topographer. His Diary (extending from 2nd September, 1677, to 18th September, 1724) was published in 1880 and his correspondence in 1832.

P. 100, l. 28. Barnby Moor and Tuxford. Barnby Moor is three and a half miles north-west of East Retford, and Tuxford is about twelve miles north-west of Newark. Macaulay does not give the meaning of the Diary correctly. Thoresby, who was riding home from London, says that two miles north of Newark he lost the rest of his companions "who designed for Barnby Moor," and that the companion who was left "would not stir a foot further than Tuxford, so that I had to ride alone eight tedious long miles in a place easy enough to mistake the way in, especially on a dark evening over Shirewood Forest".

P. 100, l. 29. Between Doncaster and York. The reference should be 31st August not 3rd. The day was a Sunday and the pious Thoresby

says: "Had much rain and missed our way more than in all the journey before, so that we might read our sin [travelling on Sunday] in the punishment".

P. 100, l. 33. **Near Salisbury.** Pepys lost his way near Salisbury on the 11th not on the 12th of June as stated in the footnote.

P. 101, l. 7. **Break the way, deviate, swerve to allow another to pass.**

P. 101, l. 26. **Four days.** The main cause was "the prodigious quantity of snow" (30th December).

P. 101, l. 28. **Fourteen members.** Thoresby says there were "fourteen in company" including the members (3rd January, 1709).

P. 101, l. 31. **Footnote.** Thoresby's *Diary*. The reference should be to the 28th not the 27th of December.

P. 101, l. 31. **On the roads of Derbyshire.** The dangers which Cotton describes were due more to the steepness of the hill than to the badness of the road.

P. 102, l. 2. **A viceroy.** Henry, second Earl of Clarendon.

P. 102, l. 4. **Conway and Beaumaris** are on opposite sides of the Menai Straits.

P. 102, l. 19. **Prince George of Denmark,** the husband of Queen Anne.

P. 102, l. 20. **The stately mansion** (erected by the Duke of Somerset and afterwards passing to the Earls of Egremonet) stands close to Petworth in Sussex.

P. 102, l. 30. **One chief cause.** Perhaps the chief cause was that the method of "macadamising," now employed in every civilised country, had not yet been invented. This was introduced by John Loudon McAdam, who began his experiments in Ayrshire towards the end of the eighteenth century, and published his "Present State of Roadmaking" in 1820.

P. 103, l. 27. **Many tollbars . . . shed.** In 1843, not long before Macaulay wrote, incidents such as he describes had occurred in South Wales during the Rebecca Riots.

P. 104, l. 32. **Footnote.** **On a packhorse.** The journey is described in Smollett's "Roderick Random," chapter viii.

P. 105, l. 1. **Cotton.** The "facetious" poems of Charles Cotton (1630-1687) are forgotten, but his continuation of Walton's "Complete Angler" and his translation of Montaigne's *Essays* are classics. Macaulay has already quoted from him. (See p. 101, footnote 4.)

P. 105, l. 14. **Vanbrugh.** Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726) has a double reputation, as architect and as playwright. He designed Blenheim Palace and so many other massive mansions that some one proposed as his epitaph—

"Lie heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee".

P. 105, l. 14. **Described in an unfinished play** called "A Journey to London". Finished by Colley Cibber it became (under the title "The

Provok'd Husband") one of the most popular comedies of the eighteenth century. (See Act I., sc. i.)

P. 105, l. 19. Taken from the plough. Vanbrugh says "cart-horses".

✓ P. 105, l. 23. Diligence, the French name for a stage-coach.

P. 106, l. 34. Posts, vehicles travelling long distances and drawn by relays of horses posted in readiness at certain places on the road.

P. 107, l. 33. The opposition offered in Macaulay's own day to the introduction of railways.

P. 108, l. 5. Rode post. See Note to p. 106, l. 34.

P. 108, l. 22. Clifford. Thomas Clifford (1630-1673), one of the "Cabal," was created a peer and Lord High Treasurer in 1672.

P. 109, l. 9. Gadshill, on the Rochester road, four miles S.-E. of Gravesend.

P. 109, l. 11. Of Falstaff. See the First Part of Shakespeare's "King Henry the Fourth," I. ii., II. i., ii. and iv.

P. 109, l. 32. Boniface is an inn-keeper in Farquhar's play "The Beaux' Stratagem". He gives information and help to Gibbet, a highwayman. (See especially Act II., sc. iii.)

P. 110, l. 16. William Nevison. The contemporary "chap-book" from which Macaulay got most of his information about this robber calls him William, but the depositions of his trial and the proclamation in the Gazette offering a reward for his arrest call him John. He was born in 1689.

P. 110, l. 25. Claude Duval (1643-1670). Macaulay again obtains his information from a contemporary pamphlet, which is ascribed to William Popa.

P. 111, l. 11. Judge Morton. Sir William Morton was made a judge in 1665 and died in 1672.

P. 111, l. 29. Our first great poet, Chaucer. In the Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales" he tells how, when he lay in the Tabard,

"At night was come into that hostelrye
Wel nyne and twenty in a company,"

and how

"Greet [great] oheere made oure ost [host] us everichon [every one],
And to the souper sette he us anon,
And served us with vittaille atte beste;
Strong was the wyn and wel to drinke us leste [it pleased us]."

P. 112, l. 2. William Harrison (1534-1593), Canon of Windsor. His "Description of England," first printed with Holinshead's "Chronicle," has been edited for the New Shakespeare Society by Dr. Furnivall.

P. 112, l. 14. Such as Walton has described in chapter II. of "The Complete Angler".

P. 113, l. 4. Johnson declared. The saying is given in Hawkins's "Life" (p. 87). Boswell reports Johnson as quoting Shenstone's lines.

P. 113, l. 6. Shenstone. William Shenstone (1714-1763) is remembered by students of poetry for his "Schoolmistress" and by students of landscape gardening for the manner in which he laid out the grounds at the Leasowes (near Halesowen, Worcestershire). Macaulay (who rarely makes a direct quotation) had in mind the last lines of a poem written at Henley:—

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
Must sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn".

P. 113, l. 31. In a short time. The revived use of the roads, first by cyclists and then by motorists, has revived some of the old inns.

P. 115, l. 1. William Dockwray set up the Penny Post in 1683. When the Court of King's Bench decided in favour of the Duke of York the London District Post was formed, which continued separate from the General Post till 1854. Dockwray was made its controller.

P. 115, l. 9. Godfrey's death. The mystery of the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (1621-1678) after receiving the first depositions of Titus Oates is still unsolved.

P. 115, l. 10. Coleman's papers. Edward Coleman, secretary of Mary of Modena, Duchess of York (afterwards queen), was accused by Oates of participation in the Popish Plot, and his papers were seized. He was executed on 8th December, 1678, and though the evidence on which he was convicted was not enough to hang a dog, there is no doubt that he had been corresponding respecting aid from France for the English Catholics.

P. 116, l. 1. At present. Penny postage, introduced in 1840, had not long been established when Macaulay wrote.

P. 116, l. 4. The gross annual receipts for the year 1907-1908 were £32,200,892 and the net profit £4,185,633. The number of letters, postcards, newspapers, packets, and parcels delivered in the United Kingdom was 4,972,070,000, and the number of telegrams 85,969,000.

P. 116, l. 18. News-letters were in manuscript.

P. 116, l. 20. Soon after the Restoration. In May, 1662.

P. 117, l. 10. His . . . prerogative, to prohibit the publication of political news.

P. 117, l. 18. "The London Gazette" made its first appearance under this title on 5th February, 1666.

P. 117, l. 18. Janissaries, Turkish soldiers. See Note to p. 15, l. 25. ✓

P. 118, l. 1. Footnote. November, 1685, after James had informed Parliament that he had increased the standing army and dispensed with the Test Act for officers. See the *History*, chapter vi. (l. 337).

P. 118, l. 4. Any news. See Acts xvii. 21.

P. 119, l. 6. In Cambridge. The passage in the Life of Roger North to which Macaulay alludes says there was but one coffee-house in Cambridge. It was "kept by one Kirk" who "got a written news-letter circulated by one Muddiman".

P. 119, l. 11. October, also brewed in October.

P. 119, l. 15. *Archives of old families*. Lady Newdigate's *Newdigate* published in 1901 a very interesting book ("Cavalier and Puritan") chiefly made up of extracts from news-letters preserved by the Newdigate family.

P. 119, l. 18. Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), philosopher, historian, and politician. See Macaulay's Essay on his "History of the Revolution".

P. 120, l. 7. "The Observer" was started in April, 1681.

P. 120, l. 8. Roger Lestrangle (1616-1704) was fighting or writing or plotting on behalf of the Stuarts the greater part of his life. He was made surveyor of printing presses and licenser of the press in 1663 and knighted in 1685. He was naturally deprived of his office at the Revolution.

P. 120, l. 26. William Jenkyn (1618-1685) was one of the Nonconformists ejected by the Uniformity Act of 1662. He was arrested on 2nd September, 1684, while attending a prayer meeting. He died in Newgate on 19th January, 1685.

P. 120, l. 37. The Trimmers, the party led by Halifax (see Note to p. 58, l. 8) which tried to avoid the extremes of Whigs and Tories and thus earned the mistrust and contempt of both. For Macaulay's account of them, see the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 120).

P. 121, l. 13. Paternoster Row, close by St. Paul's, was the street in which most of the publishers had (and in which many still have) their places of business.

P. 121, l. 22. Hudibras, Butler's satire on the Puritans.

P. 121, l. 23. Baker's "Chronicle". Sir Richard Baker's "Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Time of the Romans' Government unto the Death of King James," first published in 1643, was very popular.

P. 121, l. 23. Tarlton's Jests, a collection of more or less fictitious anecdotes in which the actor Richard Tarlton (d. 1588) figured as hero.

P. 121, l. 23. The Seven Champions of Christendom was written by Richard Johnson (1573-1659?). The oldest known copy is dated 1597.

P. 121, l. 34. Footnote. Cotton. Churchill Babington points out the defect of Macaulay's inference that because Cotton had books in his parlour (not hall) window he had none in his study. Cotton's own writings would fill a good part of the window.

P. 122, l. 9. At an earlier period. In the time of the Tudors. See Macaulay's Essay on Bacon.

P. 122, l. 24. A charity girl, a girl educated at a charity school where the instruction was of the most elementary kind and often poor of its kind. A good many charity schools were established in the early part of the eighteenth century under the direction of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

P. 123, l. 13. Jane Grey. Roger Ascham, the tutor of Lady Jane Grey, tells how he found her one day reading Plato at home while the rest of the family were out hunting.

P. 123, l. 19. Lucy Hutchinson, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley and wife of Col. John Hutchinson, who held Nottingham for the Parliament during the Civil War. The life which she wrote of her husband is one of the most charming biographies in the language, and proves her to have been a woman of noble character and high attainments.

P. 123, l. 25. Too celebrated because not celebrated for their virtues.

P. 123, l. 26. The walls of Hampton Court are covered with pictures, those of William III.'s state bedroom with portraits of the "beauties" of Charles II.'s court.

P. 123, l. 28. The *Clelia* and the *Grand Cyrus*, two romances by Madeleine de Soudéry. "*Clelie*" (1656) and "*Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus*" (1650) together filled twenty volumes. See the "*Spectator*," No. 37..

P. 124, l. 1. From Homer to Photius, from the earliest writer to the latest. Photius was a Byzantine who died about the end of the ninth century A.D.

P. 124, l. 10. The *Epistles of Phalaris*. The scholars of Christ Church, Oxford, maintained the genuineness of the *Epistles of Phalaris* (of which one of their number had published an edition). Bentley proved that the work was spurious. See Macaulay's *Essay on Sir William Temple and his Life of Atterbury*.

P. 124, l. 17. In a former age . . . Grenville. Sir Walter Raleigh and Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland, covered the greater part of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I.; William Pitt, Charles James Fox, William Windham and Grenville all flourished under George III.

P. 124, l. 26. Had not . . . lost. Latin was still to some extent what it had been throughout the Roman Empire, a common speech. Books intended for European circulation were still written in it, and travellers speaking it found ignorance of modern languages no serious inconvenience.

P. 125, l. 2. At that time. In 1685 Louis XIV. had been forty-two years on the throne and was at the height of his glory.

P. 126, l. 2. The melodious Tuscan. Moralists like Ascham held that Englishmen of the upper classes were being "Italianate" to a dangerous degree.

P. 126, l. 8. Footnote. Butler. Macaulay, probably quoting from memory, does not quote exactly. In the first line *words* should be *ends*; and in the second line should be *or*.

P. 127, l. 16. The Book of Nehemiah. Five chapters of the Book of Nehemiah are largely made up of the names of the Jews who returned from the Captivity, and must have been frequently consulted by Puritans who were fond of giving their children names out of the Old Testament.

P. 127, l. 17. Jack in the Green, a performer covered with twigs and leaves so as to resemble a bush who used to dance in the chimney-sweepers' revels on May Day.

P. 127, l. 19. On Christmas day. The Puritans carried their opposi-

tion to the observance of saints' day to such an excess that they fasted on Christmas day and (as Butler says) would—

“Quarrel with minced pies and disparage
Their best and dearest friend, plum porridge.”

P. 127, l. 32. **Cowley, Crashaw, and Cleveland.** Abraham Cowley, Richard Crashaw, and John Cleveland were all Fellows of Cambridge colleges. Cowley was expelled from Trinity in 1644, Crashaw from Peterhouse in 1643, and Cleveland from St. John's in 1645.

P. 127, l. 36. **Supralapsarians**, a sect of Calvinists who held views opposed to those of the Sublapsarians. It matters little now what the views of either sect were.

✓ P. 128, l. 29. **His Shibboleth**, the manner of speech peculiar to his class. When one of the defeated men of Ephraim tried to pass a ford of Jordan held by the victorious men of Gilead he denied his kin. “Then said they unto him, ‘Say now *Shibboleth*’: and he said *Sibboleth*, for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him and slew him.”—*Judge* xii. 6.

P. 129, l. 5. **Waller.** Edmund Waller (1606-1687) wrote little after the Restoration except “*Divine Poems*,” and he could hardly be less decent in them than in amatory poems written before.

P. 129, l. 7. **Cowley** survived the Restoration seven years, during which he published *Odes* and “*Verses upon several Occasions*”.

P. 129, l. 10. **A mightier poet, Milton.**

✓ P. 129, l. 14. **Ethereal Virtues.**

“Thrones and imperial Powers, offspring of heav’n,
Ethereal Virtues.”—*Paradise Lost*, ii. 310-311.

P. 129, l. 17. **Amaranth and gold.**

“They bow, and to the ground
With solemn adoration down they cast
Their crowns inwove with amaranth and gold.”

Paradise Lost, iii. 350-352.

P. 129, l. 18. **Butler.** Samuel Butler was forty-eight at the Restoration, which he survived twenty years. He published the first part of “*Hudibras*” in 1663, the second in 1664, and the third in 1668. This, though a severe satire on the Puritans, is very rarely coarse.

P. 129, l. 24. **Dursey.** “Tom” Dursey (1653-1723), patronised by Charles II. and James II., moved in the best society of the time and was reputed one of its best “wits”. His works are now completely forgotten (fortunately for him—and us).

P. 130, l. 6. **Comic drama.** See Macaulay's *Essay on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration*.

P. 130, l. 14. **The Hope.** There were four theatres on Bankside in Elizabethan times—the Globe, the Rose, the Hope, and the Swan.

P. 130, l. 16. **Sex.** The patent granted to Sir William Davenant soon after the Restoration says that “Whereas the woman's parts in plays have hitherto been acted by men . . . we do give leave that for the time to come all women's parts be acted by women,” but the authorities

are not agreed as to who was the first English actress or when she appeared.

P. 181, l. 9. Calderon (1600-1681), Spain's greatest dramatist. Many of his plays were adapted for the English stage.

P. 181, l. 10. Viola, a character in "Twelfth Night".

l. 11, l. 12. Agnes, a character in "L'École des Femmes".

P. 181, l. 22. *The Fables*. "Fables Ancient and Modern, translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccaccio and Chaucer; with Original Poems" was published in 1700.

P. 181, l. 27. "Palamon and Arcite" is a rendering into modern English of Chaucer's "Knight's Tale".

P. 181, l. 27. "Cymon and Iphigenia" and "Theodore and Honoria" are free renderings of Boccaccio.

P. 181, l. 30. "Alexander's Feast" was an Ode written for St Cecilia's Day, 1697.

P. 181, l. 31. Two hundred and fifty pounds. Jacob Tonsen paid 250 guineas (not pounds) to Dryden for the first edition and 50 guineas more to his widow for the second edition in 1713. Dryden also received considerable sums from the Duke of Ormond for a dedication, from the Duchess for a poetical epistle prefixed to "Palamon and Arcite," and from "his honoured kinsman John Driden of Chesterton in the country of Huntingdon, Esq." for an address included in the volume.

P. 182, l. 2. Ten should be "thirteen".

P. 182, l. 5. Southern. Thomas Southern (1640-1746) wrote "The Fatal Marriage" in 1694 and "Oroonoko" in 1696. These, though possessing no great literary merit, were good acting plays and held the stage almost to our own time. It was by "The Spartan Dame" that Southern made not exactly £700 but £500 by the "author's nights" and £120 by the sale of the copyright. Pope addresses him as

"Tom, whom heav'n sent down to raise
The price of prologues and of plays".

P. 182, l. 6. Otway. Thomas Otway (1652-1685) is now remembered for his unhappy life and his two best plays, "Venice Preserved" and "The Orphan". "Don Carlos" was produced in June, 1676, and "got more money than any preceding tragedy". Rochester, in "A Trial of the Poets for the Bays," says of Otway

"Don Carlos his pockets so amply had filled".

P. 182, l. 7. Shadwell. Thomas Shadwell (1642?-1692) produced plays, satires, and translations. He was fiercely attacked in "The Medal" and "MacFlecknoe" by Dryden whom he supplanted as laureate after the Revolution. "The Squire of Alsatia" was acted in 1688. The author's "third night" brought him £130—£16 more than any other poet's ever did.

P. 183, l. 28. Absalom and Achitophel. Dryden saw some resemblance between the rebellion of Absalom and the efforts to prove the Duke of Monmouth the king's lawful son and heir. He therefore adapted the Bible story making Charles David, Monmouth Absalom, the

Earl of Shaftesbury Achitophel, etc. Shaftesbury, the chief promoter of the Exclusion Bill, was arrested on 2nd July, 1681, and was about to be tried for treason when Dryden's powerful invective against him was published.

P. 134, l. 3. Calls for more victims. "The Duke of Guise," to which Macaulay refers, was produced in December, 1682. It was found (though Dryden denied that it was intended) to suggest the assassination of Monmouth. In the Prologue the Huguenot refugees are called "godly beggars" and the jury who had ignored the bill against Shaftesbury are ridiculed. In the Epilogue (spoken by an actress named Cook) Jack Ketch is called "an excellent physician" and hanging "a fine dry kind of death," and

"Now, since the weight hangs all on one side, brother,
You Trimmers should, to poise it, hang on the other".

P. 134, l. 18. Bacon, who in his "Instauratio Magna" had exposed the errors of the Aristotelian method and showed the only fruitful way of investigating the laws of nature.

P. 134, l. 33. Verulamian, Baconian—from *Verulamium*, the Roman name of the town now called St. Albans. Bacon was made Lord Verulam in 1618 and Viscount St. Albans in 1621.

P. 135, l. 14. Polemarchs, etc. These are all allusions to "The Commonwealth of Oceana" by James Harrington (1611-1677), which was published in 1656 and dedicated to Cromwell.

P. 136, l. 7. Transfusion of blood. On 20th June, 1666, Dr. Wallis reported to the Society the success of an experiment "of transfusing the blood of one animal into the body of another".

P. 136, l. 7. Ponderation of air. Experiments for determining the pressure of the atmosphere are mentioned in the records of the Society for 2nd January, 1661, and frequently afterwards.

P. 136, l. 8. Fixation. Solidification. I can find no reference to this in the records of the Society.

P. 136, l. 10. The Rota. Harrington wrote "The Rota, or a Model of a Free State or equal Commonwealth, once proposed to be debated in brief and to be again more at large proposed to and debated by a free and open Society of ingenious Gentlemen".

P. 136, l. 20. Cowley in his Ode to the Royal Society says,

"Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last,
The barren wilderness he passed,
Did at the very border stand
Of the blest Promised Land,
And from the mountain's top of his exalted wit
Saw it himself and showed us it. . . .
From you, great champions, we expect to get
These spacious countries but discovered yet."

P. 136, l. 26. Dryden. The lines quoted are the 164th stanza of "Annus Mirabilis; the Year of Wonders, 1666". (The in the first line should be our.)

P. 187, l. 1. Ward . . . Wilkins. Seth Ward (1617-1689) was not Bishop of Salisbury, and John Wilkins (1614-1672) was not Bishop of Chester when the Royal Society was formed. Ward (who had been Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford) was translated to Salisbury in 1667 from Exeter, to which he had been appointed in 1662. Wilkins was appointed to Chester in 1666. He wrote "The Discovery of a World in the Moon," "A Discourse tending to prove that 'tis probable our Earth is one of the Planets," "Mathematical Magic," and "An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language".

P. 187, l. 5. Thomas Sprat. See Note to p. 57, l. 13.

P. 187, l. 6. Chief Justice Hale. Sir Matthew Hale (1609-1676), a pious man, upright judge, and liberal politician, was appointed Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1660 and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1671.

P. 187, l. 7. Lord Keeper Guildford (or rather Guilford). Francis North (1687-1685), brother of Sir Dudley North (see Note to p. 79, l. 17), was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1675 and Lord Chancellor in 1682. He was created Baron Guilford in 1683. For Macaulay's estimate of him, see the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 184).

P. 187, l. 15. The fickle Buckingham. Macaulay had in mind Dryden's description of Buckingham in "Absalom and Achitophel"—

"A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
Was everything by starts and nothing long;
But in the course of one revolving moon
Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon;
Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking".

For Macaulay's estimate of him, see the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 105). This Buckingham is George Villiers (1628-1687), the second Duke, son of the favourite of James I. He had ridiculed Dryden in a kind of burlesque play called "The Rehearsal".

• P. 187, l. 15. Rupert has the credit but does not deserve it. It was invented by Louis von Siegen; what Rupert did was to introduce it into England.

P. 187, l. 16. Mezzo-tinto, a method of engraving.

P. 187, l. 17. Bubble of glass, called Rupert's drop because the prince first brought it to England. It is a small globule with a long thin projection, on the breaking of which the globule flies to pieces. "Glass-drops" were produced to the Society on 14th August, 1661.

P. 187, l. 23. Fine ladies. The particular fine lady to whom Macaulay alludes is the Duchess of Newcastle who, on 30th May, 1667, visited the museum in Arundel House (whither it had been transferred after the Great Fire, Gresham College being required by the Lord Mayor). "Several fine experiments were shown her," says Pepys, "of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors." "She was full of admiration, all admiration."

P. 137, l. 25. *Gresham curiosities*. The Society met in Gresham College and there the Museum was begun in 1666.

P. 138, l. 25. *New vegetables*. The turnip, already mentioned, and the clover were the great additions to farm crops in the seventeenth century.

P. 138, l. 26. *New implements*. A drill to save labour in sowing is mentioned, but the seventeenth century was marked more by the improvement of old implements than the invention of new.

P. 138, l. 27. *New manures*. The use of lime and marl was revived.

P. 138, l. 28. Evelyn on 15th October, 1662, presented to the Society his "*Sylva*, or a Discourse of Forest Trees" which was ordered to be printed,—the first book so printed.

P. 138, l. 30. *Temple*. Macaulay is alluding to Sir William Temple's Essay "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening" (1685).

P. 139, l. 5. *Ridicule to Molière*: Molière ridicules the ignorance and pedantry of doctors in several of his plays, e.g., "*L'Amour Médecin*," "*Le Médecin malgré lui*," "*Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*," and "*Le Malade imaginaire*."

P. 139, l. 8. *Hippocrates and Galen*, the great Greek physicians, whose methods had been somewhat slavishly followed for many centuries.

P. 139, l. 10. *Police*: See Note to p. 89, l. 6.

P. 139, l. 22. *Sir William Petty*. See Note to p. 5, l. 20.

P. 139, l. 26. *Boyle*. Robert Boyle (1627-1691), son of the first Earl of Cork, devoted his life to the study of science, especially of chemistry. He proved the relation between elasticity and pressure which is called after him "*Boyle's Law*".

P. 139, l. 27. *Sloane*. Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), a famous physician, founded the Botanic Garden in 1721. After his death his collections were purchased by the nation.

P. 139, l. 28. *Ray*. John Ray (1627-1705) was an all-round naturalist, but his authority was greatest in botany and ornithology. Macaulay probably alludes to his "*Collection of English Words not generally used . . . with Catalogues of English Birds and Fishes*" (1674).

P. 139, l. 29. *Woodward*. John Woodward (1665-1728) published in 1695 an "*Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth*," in which he recognised the existence of various strata, though he overlooked the true disposition of fossils in them.

P. 139, l. 34. *Quorum, magistrates*. The commission of appointment, after speaking of the magistrates necessary to form a court, added "*Quorum vos . . . unum esse volumus*" (of whom we will you to be one).

P. 139, l. 35. *An old woman . . . murrain*. The belief in witchcraft was general. In 1662 (two years after the Royal Society was founded) the enlightened Sir Matthew Hale presided at the trial (and condemnation) of two old women accused of it, and in 1697 the Scotch Privy Council issued a commission for the trial of twenty-two. See the *History*, chapter xxii. (ll. 620).

P. 140, l. 5. John Wallis (1616-1703) was employed by the Long Parliament and more than forty years later by William III. to decipher intercepted despatches. In the interval he was professor of geometry at Oxford and published a work containing the germs of the differential calculus. He laid before the Royal Society in 1668 a correct theory of the impacts of inelastic bodies which was more fully expounded in his "Mechanics".

P. 140, l. 7. Edmund Halley (1656-1742), Secretary of the Royal Society, professor of mathematics at Oxford, and Astronomer-Royal, was among the most versatile of scientific men. While Deputy-Controller of the Mint at Chester he suggested a method of determining heights by the barometer, and ascended Snowdon to test it. He surveyed the coasts and tides of the Channel and inspected the harbours of the Adriatic. He explored the Atlantic and prepared a chart of the variations of the compass with the "Halleyan lines". He predicted the total solar eclipses of 1715 and the return of the comet of 1531 ("Halley's comet"). During a residence in St. Helena he "mapped the constellations of the Southern Hemisphere" and made the first complete observation of the transit of Mercury.

P. 140, l. 14. John Flamsteed (1646-1719) "laid the basis of modern astronomy by ascertaining absolute right ascensions through simultaneous observations of the sun and a star near both equinoxes". The first volume of his catalogue of observations of the stars was printed at the expense of Prince George of Denmark.

P. 140, l. 20. Isaac Newton (1642-1727) did so much work in so many fields that even a brief account of his achievements would be too long for a Note, and some of the results of his work were so important that no account of them ought to be necessary.

P. 140, l. 32. Scotists and Thomists, followers of the great Schoolmen, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, who exercised the most subtle intellects on what appear to us trivial problems.

P. 141, l. 8. His great work, the "Principia". The first book was exhibited at the Royal Society in 1686. The whole was published next year with the aid, pecuniary and scientific, of Halley.

P. 142, l. 8. Lely. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) was born near Utrecht. He came to England in 1641. Most of the Hampton Court "beauties" are from his brush.

P. 142, l. 5. Hamilton. Anthony Hamilton (1646?-1720) has the rare distinction of having, though an Englishman, written a French classic, the "Mémoires du Comte de Grammont" (his brother-in-law). Grammont spent the time of his exclusion from the court of Louis XIV. at the court of Charles II., where he became familiar with the ladies of whom Hamilton gives details.

P. 142, l. 17. Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723), born at Lubeck, came to England in 1675. He painted all the most important people of his time, including top sovereigns.

P. 142, l. 22. The two Vanderveeldes, father and son (both named Willem) settled in England about 1675. The father painted sea-pieces and the son copied them.

P. 142, l. 26. **Simon Varelst.** Walpole in his "Anecdotes of Paintings" says: "It is not certain in what year he arrived in England; his works were extremely admired and his prices the greatest that had been known in this country". Tempted by the Duke of Buckingham he turned his attention from flower-pieces to portraits, in which he achieved commercial rather than artistic success.

P. 142, l. 28. **Verrio.** Antonio Verrio was employed by Charles II. and James II. to decorate Windsor Castle, by William III. and Anne to decorate Hampton Court, and by many noblemen to decorate their mansions. Walpole says Charles II. "paid him generously" and gives an account which shows that Verrio "for his pieces at Windsor" received £7,945 8s. 4d.

P. 143, l. 4. **Lewis Laguerre (1663-1721)** painted halls, staircases, and ceilings at Bursleigh House, Marlborough House, Blenheim, Chatsworth, Hampton Court, etc. Pope sneers at both him and his master in the couplet—

"On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,
Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre".

P. 143, l. 7. **Cibber.** Gainsborough Cibber (1680-1700) was the son of the King of Denmark's cabinet-maker. His famous statues of Melancholy and Raving Madness were originally set up over the entrance gate of "Bedlam" then (1680) in Moorfields. On the removal of the institution to Lambeth they were placed in the vestibule, whence they were afterwards transferred to South Kensington Museum. Colley Cibber, actor, dramatist, and poet laureate, was the sculptor's son.

P. 143, l. 9. **Gibbons.** Grinling Gibbons (1648-1720) was born at Amsterdam. He was a good enough sculptor to be entrusted with statues of Charles II. and James II., but his fame rests chiefly on his beautiful wood-carvings. The throne in Canterbury Cathedral and the stalls in St. Paul's Cathedral are his work.

P. 143, l. 12. **By French artists.** Macaulay's statement is too sweeping. The engravers to the Mint between the accession of Charles I. and the Revolution were Nicholas Briot, Thomas Rawlins, Thomas Simon, and John Roettiers. The first was a Frenchman, the second an Englishman, the fourth a Dutchman, and the third may have been an Englishman but certainly was not a Frenchman.

P. 143, l. 14. **A great painter.** Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), two of the leading English painters, had, especially the first, achieved some fame in the reign of George II., but their most notable triumphs belong to the next reign. Macaulay was probably thinking of William Hogarth (1697-1764), the best-known artist given in Walpole's list under George II. Hogarth, however, was a great pictorial moralist and satirist rather than a great painter.

P. 143, l. 15. **George the Third** had been on the throne a good many years before a sculptor began to produce works of which England had reason to be proud. Flaxman was not born till 1755 and Chantrey did not begin to exhibit till 1800.

P. 145, l. 27. **Seventy shillings the quarter.** From 1893 to 1907

the annual average price per quarter of wheat varied between 23s. 1d. in 1895 and 34s. in 1898.

P. 146, l. 1. At present the pay "of a private in a regiment of the line" is a shilling a day.

P. 146, l. 25. At present: The latest published returns give the "average weekly earnings (including the value of allowances in kind)" of agricultural labourers in the counties named by Macaulay as:—

	Ordinary Labourers.		Men in Charge of Horses.		Cattle-men.		Shepherds.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Warwick	16	4	19	1	18	11	18	11
Devon	17	1	17	7	18	7	18	9
Suffolk	15	6	17	7	17	5	18	10
Northumberland	21	7	21	7	23	7	23	1
Cumberland . . .	20	0	20	8	21	2	20	5

For the whole country the "average cash wages . . . exclusive of extra payments for piecework, hay and corn harvests, overtime, etc., and also of the value of allowances in kind" were from 14s. 6d. to 15s.

P. 148, l. 8. Setting children . . . to work. The law now (1909) requires every child between five and fourteen years of age to attend school. At the age of twelve partial exemption may be claimed under certain conditions, but in the whole country there are not fifty thousand children for whom partial exemption is claimed. The majority of the "half-timers" are employed in the textile factories of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

P. 148, l. 4. Practice . . . interdicted. The first Factory Act (1802) prohibited the employment of children for over twelve hours a day. The second (1819) prohibited the employment in cotton mills of children under nine. Lord Althorp's Act (1833) introduced the principle of half-time which was extended by the Act of 1844.

P. 149, l. 8. Register of the wages. The present standard rate of wages in London is 10½d. an hour for bricklayers, masons, and carpenters, and 11d. an hour for plumbers. The "summer hours of labour exclusive of overtime" are fifty a week. In the first three trades the weekly earnings are therefore 48s. 9d. and in the fourth 45s. 10d.

P. 150, l. 19. At present. On 1st January, 1909, the paupers in England and Wales were one-thirty-seventh of the population.

P. 151, l. 1. What it now is. In the year 1907-1908 the total expenditure on pauperism was for England and Wales £14,308,426.

P. 151, l. 18. Already been mentioned. See p. 35.

P. 152, l. 33. Ormond. See p. 32, l. 20.

P. 152, l. 34. Clayton. See p. 79, l. 14.

P. 153, l. 4. One . . . in forty, that is 25 per thousand. In 1907 the London death-rate was 14·6 per thousand (or 1 in 68).

P. 153, l. 35. Stafford. William Howard, first Viscount Stafford (1614-1680), was executed for treason on the worthless evidence of Oates. His attainder was reversed in 1824. See the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 28) and chapter iv. (l. 255).

P. 154, l. 1. **Russell.** Lord William Russell (1689-1683) was executed on a charge of complicity in the Rye House Plot. His attainder was reversed at the Revolution. See the *History*, chapter ii. (l. 131) and chapter xiv. (li. 67).

P. 154, l. 7. **The cart's tail.** See Note to p. 98, l. 17.

P. 154, l. 10. **Bridewell.** The palace of Bridewell (which stood in the angle between Fleet Street and Bridge Street) was destroyed by the Great Fire. On its site was erected a "Hospital" which Chamberlayne describes as "a place where indigent, vagrant, and idle people were set to work". "Saucy and incorrigible servants" and women of worse character "according to their crimes receive daily such a number of stripes as the governor commands".

P. 154, l. 12. **Pressed to death.** Persons brought to trial for felony who refused to plead "guilty" or "not guilty" were subjected to the *peins forte et dure*, i.e., weights were placed on them till they died. Prisoners who knew that if they did plead they would be convicted and hanged and their goods forfeited, sometimes submitted to the torture in order to preserve their property for their families.

P. 154, l. 18. **Gladistors.** The Grand Duke Cosmo "went out after dinner to see the gladiators or fencing masters, who, in order to get reputation, give a general challenge, offering twenty or thirty jacobuses or more to any one that has a mind to fight with them. No person is admitted into the theatre without first paying at the door for the benefit of the challenger."

P. 154, l. 25. **Pestilence.** Gaol fever (a form of typhus) disappeared after the prison reforms brought about by John Howard.

P. 154, l. 25. **Avenged.** Persons attending the courts often caught the fever. Thus after the Old Bailey sessions on 18th April, 1750, two of the judges, the lord mayor, one of the aldermen, one of the barristers, several of the jurors, and about forty other persons died.

P. 154, l. 30. **The factory child.** See the Note to p. 148, l. 8.

P. 154, l. 30. **The Hindoo widow.** The English Government abolished suttee (the burning of Hindoo widows on their dead husbands' pyres) in 1829.

P. 155, l. 1. **Hulks,** old dismantled ships used as prisons.

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